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Conference Proceeding

SOCIAL AND CULTURAL ISSUES IN ASEAN

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Social and Cultural Issues in ASEAN
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FOREWORD

The year of 2014 marked as an important year when the 1st International Conference on ASEAN Studies (ICONAS) 2014 is held in Indonesia, particularly in Southeast Asia region. It is part of ASEAN Studies Center Universitas Gadjah Mada, Indonesia (ASC UGM) initiatives in collaboration with ASEAN Studies Center Chulalongkorn University, Thailand.

ICONAS 2014 is aimed to identify challenges and opportunities of ASEAN Community in 2015 as well as to further develop ASEAN Studies in the region. The conference is envisioned to be a melting-pot for academics, business, government from ASEAN member states and their dialogue partners to discuss how to pursue and achieve the vision ASEAN Community through three pillars: Political and Security Community, Economic Community, and Socio-Cultural Community.

This Proceedings brings you academic papers presented in the Panel Discussion with 12 main themes: (1) ASEAN Security Dilemma; (2) ASEAN and Human Security; (3) Pondering ASEAN Economic Development; (4) Transforming Future Governance of Extractive Industries in ASEAN; (5) The Role of Higher Education in ASEAN; (6) Youth Participation in ASEAN; (7) ASEAN Community: New Alternatives; (8) ASEAN and New Media; (9) ASEAN Economic Community 2015; (10) ASEAN Economic Community: Critical Assessment; (11) The Cultural Aspects of ASEAN; and (12) Rethinking Identity in ASEAN.

The 2014 ICONAS proceeding published in three parts based on three ASEAN Community pillars. The first part covers various issues on Political and Security in ASEAN. The second proceeding discusses mainly on economic and social development, and following the economic part, social and cultural issues are disseminated on the third part.

We would like to express our gratitude to all presenters who contributed to the success of the 1st International Conference on ASEAN Studies (ICONAS) 2014, remarkably the authors and co-authors for their valuable contribution to the ICONAS 2014. Special thanks goes to all colleagues, who tirelessly participated in the proof-reading of this Proceedings. We wish the Proceeding could drive interest among Southeast Asian scholars and enlighten us to new perspectives on exploring ASEAN related issues.

CONTENTS

Strengthening Socio-Cultural Pillar of ASEAN Through Tourism Village:Case of Yogyakarta	5
Sustaining ASEAN Through Enhancing Regional Cooperation in Higher Education	19
Open and Distance Elearning: Capturing Orality Andvisuality for Research, Teaching and Learning asframework for Art In ASEAN Course	41
If 'it Ain't Where You're From,' it's Not Exactly Where You're Born'	55
The Contribution of the Organization In Myanmar's Rohingyas: Beyond the Ethnic-Religious Conflict and Its Implication Towards South-East Asia	71
Fostering ASEAN Regional Mechanism on Youth Promotion	93
Rethinking Identity Through the Museum Representation of South East aSia from South East Asia Collection in South East Asia Exhibition "Ooswaart! Kunst, Cultuur, Kolonialism" in Tropenmuseum, Amsterdam	109
Monks, Media and Muslims in Myanmar	129
Wood Connections: Creating Spaces and Possibilities for Wood Carvers in the Philippines	149
E-learning Strategies for Engendering Local Knowledge Appreciation in Teenage Learners	163
The Development of The Concept of Youth in South East Asia: Analyzing ASEAN	183
Is Awareness of the ASEAN Community Spreading Beyond The Elite? — An Analysis of Asean-Related Indonesian Tweets	201
One Identity Towards ASEAN Community 2015	217
The Development of Multiculturalism and the Role of ASEAN-Korea Center to Improve Multiculturalism in Contemporary Korea	233

Southeast Asian Contemporary Literature: Looking for Victims, Discourse of Communism in Indonesian Literature	257
Youth, Tourism, and Developments Towards ASEAN Community 2015	275
Social Capital and the Challenges of Integration: Mapping Indonesia's Readiness and Vulnerability in ASEAN Community 2015	289

STRENGTHENING SOCIO-CULTURAL PILLAR OF ASEAN THROUGH TOURISM VILLAGE: CASE OF YOGYAKARTA

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UNIVERSITAS PEMBANGUNAN NASIONAL 'VETERAN' YOGYAKARTA

STRENGTHENING SOCIO- CULTURAL PILLAR OF ASEAN THROUGH TOURISM VILLAGE: CASE OF YOGYAKARTA

Machya Astuti Dewi¹

Sri Issundari²

Abstract

One of important thing in implementing ASEAN Community blueprint is how ready the community creates positive actions to strengthen the 3 pillars, especially socio-cultural pillar. In the case of Yogyakarta it is an interesting question: how to manage traditional heritage, culture, and people as some potency to support socio-cultural community of ASEAN? The local communities in tourism village of Yogyakarta play important role that support the competitiveness to “sale” traditional and cultural strengths. Some evidences show that tourism villages have big contribution in promoting cultural richness that attracts so many foreigners. And ASEAN people become one of top ranking visitors of tourism destination in Yogyakarta. It is a must that the government of Special Province of Yogyakarta along with local community maximizes the potency of Yogyakarta for supporting socio-cultural pillar of ASEAN through tourism village. Some actions should be accomplished: 1) developing uniqueness of each tourism village, 2) improving its infrastructure and 3) increasing capability of its human resources through empowering its local community.

Keywords: ASEAN Community, socio-cultural community, tourism village

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Introduction

Tourism village now become a new trend in tourism sector. The Ministry of Tourism and Creative Economy in Indonesia has revealed plans to develop 561 tourism villages in 2014. The project will span 19 provinces and is designed for visitors/tourists discover traditional life at local Indonesian villages, where residents maintain indigenous cultures and live just as their ancestors did centuries ago (Indonesia to develop over 500 tourism villages in 2014, <http://www.breakingtravelnews.com/news/article/indonesia-to-develop-over-500-tourism-villages-in-2014/>).

Tourism village has specific characteristic that developed by villagers for attracting visitors. That characteristic managed and packaged in order to become a tourism destination. In tourism village the integration between attraction, accommodation and facilities merged in people's live with their habit, custom and tradition (Tourism Village, central-java-tourism.com/desa-wisata/.../about.html).

But not only a tourism village has some special characteristics as tourism object with its natural traditions and culture, a tourism village is also supported by some factors, such as local cuisine/food, agriculture system and social system. Besides, pure nature and environment are additional values for a tourism village.

Good facilities to provide a village becoming a tourism object are also important. These facilities make visitors who come to a tourism village enjoy their vacation. Basically, the development of tourism villages needs supporting facilities, such as transportation, telecommunication, medical, and accommodation facilities. Visitors can spend the nights in homestay provided in the village. It gives visitors an unforgettable moment because they can feel a natural village atmosphere.

Yogyakarta is one of distinctive, traditional characterized province with more than 100 tourism village spread around Sleman, Bantul, Gunungkidul, Kulonprogo and kota Yogyakarta. Each tourism village has its own speciality; some of them explore natural adventure like Bejiharjo (Pindul cave) in Gunungkidul or Kalibiru in Kulonprogo. Some others promote the daily activities of villagers (planting rice, fishing, painting batik, making terracota products) like Kebonagung and Kasongan in Bantul, and Bobung in Gunungkidul. And the others promoting traditional customs like “kenduren”, “merti desa”, “jathilan”, “gejog lesung” as seen in Puton Bantul, or Pentingsari Sleman.

What is distinctive one in the development of tourism village in Yogyakarta is that all tourism village initiated by villagers. The formerly Head of Object and Tourism Destination of DIY Province: Sinang Sukanta explained that the development of tourism village in Yogyakarta first initiated by villagers and

supported by local government to create a unique, distinctive tourism object based on creativity and participation of villagers aimed for attracting tourists, so that they enjoy their experience in tourism village and come back again in the future (Interview, July 8, 2014).

In the era of ASEAN community, tourism village will contribute in promoting people-to-people contact between Indonesia people and other 9 ASEAN countries people. It is interesting to explore the potency of tourism village in Yogyakarta to support one pillar of ASEAN community: socio-cultural pillar. This paper will describe about tourism village phenomena in Yogyakarta, its contribution for strengthening ASEAN socio-cultural pillar of ASEAN Community and some agenda to be accomplished in promoting tourism village.

Tourism Village in Yogyakarta

Developing tourism village is one of important policy of Daerah Istimewa Yogyakarta (DIY)/ Yogyakarta Special Region province. The government seriously creates some policies to support tourism village. The Department of Culture and Department of Tourism DIY Province continuously conduct some research and effort to promote and develop tourism village potencies. Since 1995 DIY governor issued Decision Letter Number 325.KPTS/1995 on 24 November 1995 regarding the establishment of 32 culture village (Dinas Kebudayaan Provinsi DIY, 2005: I-1).

That policy followed by some departments by doing research on tourism village: its potencies, obstacles dan problem solving solutions. One example was what The Cultural Departement of DIY province has been done in 2005. This department did some researches in order to improve cultural village management in DIY province. Sinang Sukanta explained:

Tourists come to Jogja because Jogja has a lot of tourism object which is close one and another. But they still stay in a short term ...

The best one is the repeater, not only they come and then forget the place. The biggest (repeater) numberis from Netherland. Jogja perceived as a good place for tourism... Traditionally they visit Borobudur, Prambanan, Kraton, and Malioboro. They came for the first time, second time. What we think: what next?So that we create new destinations. Finally we tried to seek and create new destinations based on Law Number 10/2009 that stated that community should be the actor, not audience so... that we developed tourism village. The tourism villages were not

created by the government, but from community initiatives (Interview, July 8, 2014).

The local government supports the community idea to develop tourism village. Some departments intensively conducted some projects aimed to improve the existence of tourism village. The Department of Culture of DIY province completed some strategic programs to strengthen the culture village and tourism village, for example: create festivals on ritual celebration, traditional culture festivals, comparative study on cultural group, workshop on cultural performance management, networking on cultural community, supporting funding for cultural group costume, supporting funding for creating cultural villages, socialization programs on cultural villages, Javanese speech contest, etc. (Laporan Dinas Kebudayaan Provinsi DIY, 2005: V7-9).

The same action conducted by Department of Tourism and Culture of Gunungkidul. In 2008 this department has completed site plan of tourism village Bobung in Gunungkidul. The result was the development of tourism village based on community participation (community based tourism). The community actively participated in tourism activities, since planning process, development and execution program and its management process. This model is suitable for characteristic and type of tourism village that based on local human resources (Dinas Pariwisata dan Kebudayaan Gunungkidul, 2008: IV-26).

And also the local government of Gunungkidul actively supported the development of local tourism potencies. As seen on strategic planning from the Department of Culture and Tourism Gunungkidul 2006-2010 that committed to: (1) create the facilities of tourism objects to increase the number of tourists, (2) improve the capability of human resources and strengthen coordination among stakeholders in tourism, (3) best action in choosing tourism promotion, (4) data collecting and maintenance of cultural heritage, (5) increasing community income and prosperity in tourism village. These steps proved as commitment to support national government and provincial government in order to develop tourism sector (Laporan Dinas Kebudayaan dan Pariwisata Gunungkidul, 2010: 2).

Nowadays some tourism villages of Yogyakarta grow faster, while some others still in preparation step. Kembangarum tourism village is one that is in leading position. Kembangarum tourism village was established in 2005. Located at 13 hectare land in Sleman, this place offers education and nature for its visitors, especially for children. They can learn about painting and read a lot of book in the library that located near a river. Some Javanese traditional games can be enjoyed in this place, for example *egrang*, *engklek*, *dakon*, *gobak sodor*, etc. Fishing and swimming are other attractive activities. This tourism village offers some tourism

package: (1) Spending night in a unique traditional house. In Kembangarum we can find a Javanese traditional house rent for visitors. This house made of bamboo, decorated by *wayangs* and beautiful pictures. Visitors will enjoy calm and cool atmosphere and beautiful panorama, (2) Painting, will be another experience. Visitors will learn how to paint and they can bring it home. Also they can learn how to paint batik, (3) Massage for relaxation that can be enjoyed in the riverside, (4) Culinary will be also interesting. Traditional culinary offered by Kembangarum is *nasi takir* made from banana leaf (<http://desawisatasleman.wordpress.com/desa-wisata-kembangarum/> diakses 4 Mei 2014).

The other leading one in Sleman is Pentingsari tourism village that established as a tourism village in 2008. This village located at Merapi Mountain surrounded by Kuning River and Pawon River. Some interesting tourism objects offered by this village: (1) Sendangsari Secret Waterfall. The villagers believe that they will be young forever if they drink or wipe their face with the water, (2) *luweng*, a place where prince Diponegoro hid from Deutch army in colonial period, (3) Joglo house for meeting and cultural performance, (4) Nature tourism: planting rice, vegetables, (5) Mystique *Dakon* stone. The villagers believe that this stone used to be a place for arranging strategy for combating Deutch army in colonial era, (6) Sacrificed stone that is believed as a place for sacrificed snake, the son of Baru Klinting- a famous snake in Javanese mithology, (7) *ponteng*, a place where river Kuning and river Pawon meet, and there is a cave where the son of snake Baru Klinting lived, (8) tracking through riverside, rice field, tunnel and forest (<http://desawisatasleman.wordpress.com/desa-wisata-pentingsari/> Yogyakarta, 4 Mei 2014).

Not only Sleman, but Bantul also offers some interesting tourism village. For example Kreet that located at Sendangsari village, Pajangan, Bantul, Yogyakarta, around 12 km northwest of Yogyakarta. Kreet is very famous for its batik mask and wooden craft (wooden statue, wayang, wooden souvenirs) with Javanese traditional motives, like *parangrusak*, *parangbarong*, *kawung*, *garuda*, *sidorahayu*, *sidomukti*. This tourism village also offers visitors to stay for a night or several nights at Kreet for deeper their knowledge about batik. The community will welcome visitor at their homestay. Usually the villager conduct a ritual named Merti Dusun as a symbol for their thanks to god of the abundance of rice crop. A *gunungan* (a *mountain* formation made of fruits and foods) prepared by villagers, and they walk along the village and stop at pendopo.

Some Potency for Stronger ASEAN Community

In 2015 ASEAN enter new step of its cohesion by binding its commitment as an ASEAN community. This big community supported by 3 pillars: (1) security pillar, (2) economic pillar and (3) socio-cultural pillar. One of important thing in

the third pillar (socio-cultural) is how ASEAN citizens interact in a community conscious of its ties of history, aware of its cultural heritage and bound by a common regional identity (Vientiane Action Programme 2004-2010: 39).

In the same time, as an impact of globalization many of the regional's traditional societies with their rich and distinctive cultural norms and practices are facing new challenges. As ASEAN continues in its community-building efforts, the concern is how to fulfill its aspirations for progress and prosperity while at the same time preserving its rich cultural heritage. Thus, the ASEAN community envisaged to emerge from regional integration by 2020 is where people, amidst the diversity of their historical and cultural experience, are conscious of a common regional identity. This sense of regional identity and solidarity will have been built on years of cumulative interaction in all facets of social and economic life and at all levels –communities, governments and civil society.

Under the ASEAN Socio Cultural Community Plan of Action, the goal of creating an ASEAN identity involves: (1) mainstreaming the promotion of ASEAN awareness, regional identity and values in national communication plans, education curricula, people-to-people contact mainly through culture, arts and sports, especially among the youth and the promotion of ASEAN languages learning through scholarship and exchanges of linguist, (2) preserving and promoting ASEAN cultural heritage and living traditions, as vehicle to better understand the link between culture and development, and as source of inspiration for future endeavours, (3) fostering dialogues among civilizations, cultures and religions as a means to foster better understanding, build confidence and address threats to peace and security and (4) promoting ASEAN's standing in the international community (Vientiane Action Programme 2004-2010: 45).

For strengthening the foundations of regional social cohesion, some step should be prepared: (1) Promote ASEAN awareness with the ultimate goal of fostering an ASEAN regional identity by promoting interactions and exchanges among artists, writers, media practitioners, scholars, students, cultural entrepreneurs, professionals, experts in culture and sports and others, (2) promote people-to-people, especially among the youth through youth volunteer programmes and youth camps, (3) promote ASEAN languages learning through scholarships and exchange of linguists, (4) coordinate efforts for the documentation, preservation and safeguarding of national and regional treasures and other properties, antiquities and works of historic, archaeological, anthropological and scientific significance, (5) Enhance ASEAN cooperation in culture and information to formulate and implement effective and efficient programmes in a concerted manner in order to promote the rich and vast cultures of ASEAN, (6) promote confidence-building at national and regional levels by

promoting the learning core of values, customs and traditions and integrating multiple perspectives on civilizations through regular dialogue mechanism and (7) promote an image of unity, stability and dynamism of ASEAN by strengthening contacts with mass media, the international fora and the other channel of communications (Vientiane Action Programme 2004-2010: 53).

In the case of Yogyakarta, it is an interesting phenomenon that some countries of ASEAN: Malaysia, Singapore ranked in top ten visitors of Yogyakarta tourism destination. Followed then by Thailand and the Phillipinnes. Although these countries not ranked at the top ten position, but they contribute significant number of visitors. As seen in table below, there is an increasing number of foreign tourists visited Yogyakarta from 2008-2012:

Table 1: Tourists Visit to Yogyakarta 2008-2012

Year	Foreign	Percentage (%)	Domestic	Percentage (%)	Total	Percentag e
2008	12,,660	24.64	1,156,097	0.86	1,284,757	2.83
2009	13,,492	8.42	1,286,565	11.29	1,426,057	11.00
2010	152,843	9.57	1,304,137	1.37	1,456,980	2.17
2011	169,565	1,,94	1,438,129	10.27	1,607,694	10.34
2012	197,751	16.62	2,162,422	50.36	2,360,173	46.80

Source: Statistik Kepariwisata DIY, 2012.

The first position of foreign visitor number in Yogyakarta is Netherland, followed by Malaysia at the second position, Japan at third position, France and Germany at the fourth and fifth position. For years these countries become major foreign visitors of Yogyakarta. The top ten position of foreign tourist in Yogyakarta can be seen as follows:

Table 2: Top Ten Foreign Tourist of Yogyakarta 2008-2012

No.		2008			2009			2010			2011			2012	
	Countr	Number	%	Count	Number	%	Count	Numbe	%	Count	Numb	%	Country	Numb	%
1	Netherl	27,228	21.	Netherl	25,745	18	Netherl	28,577	18.	Netherl	33,567	19.80	Netherla	32,025	16.19
2	Malaysi	17,955	13.	Malaysi	16,150	11.	Malaysi	16,809	11.	Malaysi	18,575	10.95	Malaysia	20,729	10.48
3	Japan	16,638	12.	Japan	13,835	9.	Japan	15,949	10.	Japan	16,908	9.97	Japan	19,618	9.92
4	France	9,634	7.4	France	12,346	8.	France	15,407	10.	France	14,412	8.50	France	19,074	9.65
5	Germa	6,762	5.	Germa	8,12	5.	German	8,052	5.	German	9,911	5.84	Germany	10,314	5.22
6	USA	6,550	5.	USA	6,350	4.	USA	7,040	4.	USA	8,302	4.90	USA	9,225	4.67
7	Austral	4,947	3.	Australi	6,177	4.	Australi	6,880	4.	Australi	7,133	4.21	Australia	9,136	4.62
8	Englan	3,861	3.	Englan	4,982	3.	Englan	5,346	3.5	Englan	6,439	3.80	England	8,343	4.22
9	Belgiu	3,251	2.	Belgia	4,847	3.	Belgia	4,607	3.	Belgia	5,262	3.10	Belgia	5,181	2.62
10	Singap	3,111	2.	Singapo	4,148	2.	Singapo	3,875	2.	Singapo	4,328	2.55	Singapor	4,860	2.46
	Other	28,723	22	Other	36,600	26	Other	40,301	26	Other	44,728	26.38	Other	59,245	29.96

11	Total	12,660	10	Total	139,492	10	Total	152,843	10	Total	169,565	100	Total	197,751	100
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Source: Statistik Kepariwisata DIY, 2012.

Specifically in tourism village, the number of foreign visitors is still lower if we compare it with domestic visitors. But there is an increasing number of foreign tourists in recent years, mainly from Netherland, Japan, South Korea and France. The comparison between foreign visitors and domestic visitors in tourism village can be seen at table 3.

Table 3: Number of Tourists Visited Tourism Village 2012 (January-December)

1	Kampung	Foreign	1	28	22	42	74	93	81	93	73	96	54	29	698
		Domestic													0
		Number	1	28	22	42	74	93	81	93	73	96	54	29	698
2	Brayut,	Foreign	2	325	24	75	48	25	28	30	32	38	34	32	28
			4	606	75	109	967	38	242	14	109	115	206	120	2.649
		Number	7	931	99	184	1.015	63	270	44	141	153	240	152	2.677
3	Tanjung,	Foreign	1	300	22	26	22	26	24	25	24	26	28	26	563
			3	38	68	46	32	28	84	65	125	35	64	60	679
		Number	4	338	90	72	54	54	108	90	149	61	92	86	1.242
4	Sambi,	Foreign	3	26	28	38	26	28	29	24	28	24	26	24	337
			5	35	68	75	87	67	82	38	46	67	78	77	776
		Number	9	61	96	113	113	95	111	62	74	91	104	101	1.113
5	Grogol,	Foreign	2	24	22	26	28	26	26	24	28	20	25	24	295
			5	65	125	60	110	59	70	25	35	50	70	305	1.024
		Number	7	89	147	86	138	85	96	49	63	70	95	329	1.319
6	Mlangi,	Foreign	1	16	18	12	14	15	12	16	14	12	14	12	173
			5	65	60	75	46	68	88	96	102	85	90	36	867
		Number	7	81	78	87	60	83	100	112	116	97	104	48	1.040
7	Candi Abang,	Foreign	1	18	18	12	16	13	14	12	14	18	14	16	181
			1	48	18	32	46	23	48	32	48	52	36	38	431
		Number	2	66	36	44	62	36	62	44	62	70	50	54	612

Source: Statistik Kepariwisata DIY, 2012.

For years Netherland become number 1 country which is the highest number of tourists from Netherland come to Yogyakarta. The reason clearly explained by Sinang Sukanta:

It correlates with the fact that Netherland had ever become expansionist, colonialist in Indonesia. They explained to their son, their grandson, that they ever lived in Indonesia, in Java, especially in Yogya. I had ever met a Netherland tourist that was eager to visit Kotabaru and Kotagede. He knew this place from his grandfather and he really wanted to see this historical place. The majority of Netherland

tourist had special old memorize in Yogyakarta,so that they want to come again and again... (Interview, July, 8, 2014).

Although there is not clear information about the exact number of ASEAN tourists visited tourism village in Yogyakarta, the table below represent the high antusias of ASEAN countries people visit Yogyakarta. Malaysia was still in the top one position with total amount of 20,729 Malaysian people visited Yogyakarta in 2012. The number followed by Singapore with 8,343 people. Meanwhile in the next rank are Thailand, Philippine and Brunei Darussalam with 5,181 people, 1,836 people and 751 people. Other ASEAN countries (Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia and Myanmar) also contributed in developing tourism sector in Yogyakarta with total amount of 2,347 people visited Yogyakarta in 2012.

Table 4: Number of ASEAN tourists Visited Yogyakarta 2012 (country/month)

No.	Country	Jan	Feb	Mar	April	May	June	July	August	Sept	Oct	Nov	Dec	Total
1	Malaysia	1,907	2,112	1,584	2,033	3,086	2,239	1,085	551	1,274	1,396	1,891	1,570	20,729
2	Singapore	770	427	644	835	536	1,352	520	316	740	513	868	822	8,343
3	Thailand	345	305	228	825	329	528	321	670	754	405	301	169	5,181
4	Philippine	203	129	132	195	177	293	63	24	239	198	121	62	1,836
5	Brunei Darussala	6	11	14	29	194	99	49	240	18	55	18	18	751
6	other ASEAN	205	21	38	76	191	127	118	161	116	102	191	998	2,347
	Total Number													

Source: Statistik Kepariwisata DIY, 2012.

Those numbers proves that Yogyakarta is an interesting place for ASEAN countries people to spend holidays and enjoy so many meaningful activities, including shopping, meeting, learning traditional culture, trying javanese food and practising gamelan, painting batik, etc. Nguyen Hai, a Vietnamese student that granted Indonesia Art and Culture Scholarship (IACS) from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Republic of Indonesia explained his experience during his stay in tourism village Hai spent 3 months in Yogyakarta (March-June 2014) where he studied about economic, socio and political aspects of Indonesia and art and culture of Yogyakarta. While he was completing the program Hai also stayed in Puton, a tourism village located at Bantul. He impressed of his experience when he celebrated *Kenduren*, practicing *gamelan* and saw a Javanese magic dance: *Jathilan*. Hai said that there are some similar traditions between Yogyaneese and Vietnamese, for example they eat rice, planting rice in the same way. One

important message he got during his stay at Puton was that a closer relationship between visitors and villagers create a special relationship, just like a big family (interview, June 12, 2014). The experience of Nguyen Hai is one of evidence how a close relationship, mutual understanding and positive interaction between people of ASEAN countries can be mediated by tourism village.

Some Homework

In order to develop tourism village as a medium for strengthening sosio cultural pillar of ASEAN Community it is important to build strong foundation as follows: First, improvement of tourism village infrastructure. Most of tourism village managers said that they still have difficulty to prepare comfortable, especially clean and dry restroom or toilet for foreign tourists (FGD, August 21, 2014).

For supporting tourism village, the government of Republic Indonesia through Ministry of Tourism and Creative Economy throughout 2014 improves facilities in more than 500 communities by developing tourism facilities and providing support for the local people. Each village will receive IDR75-100 million in funding, plus training sessions offered in foreign languages, art, culture and culinary skills to support low-income residents and enhance tourists' enjoyment of the rural area. Among the tourism villages being developed is Kembangarum in Yogyakarta, one of the leading cultural regions of Java (Indonesia to develop over 500 tourism villages in 2014, <http://www.breakingtravelnews.com/news/article/indonesia-to-develop-over-500-tourism-villages-in-2014/>)

Second, capacity building of human resources, mainly how to improve the lack of capability to speak foreign language (English, France, Japanese, Korean, etc). Some managers of tourism village that are interviewed said that the majority of villagers or peoples that responsible to manage tourism village lack for their ability to speak English or other foreign language (FGD, August 21, 2014).

It is easiest condition that the majority of ASEAN tourists come to tourism village are from Malaysia and Singapore, in which there is similar language used between visitors and villagers. But still it will be more interesting if Malaysian and Singaporean speak Bahasa Indonesia and practice Javanese language, while villagers practice Melayu language or English.

Also another important thing is how increasing self consciousness of the villagers that they have potencial asset to be maintained and developed. Some managers of tourism village said that they have difficulty to involve all villagers in daily life activities of tourism village because they (the villagers) still perceive

that developing tourism village is not their duty. Despite, some villagers still think that they will not get big benefit from tourism village.

Third, supporting actions from Ministry of Foreign Affairs are needed to spread the promotion of tourism village. Well coordination between tourism village, local government (represented by the Department of Tourism of DIY province and the Bureau of Cooperation and Investment of DIY) and national government (represented by Ministry of Foreign Affairs) will produce great impact in promoting tourism village abroad. In the case of ASEAN Community, it is a good step for Indonesian embassies to begin to promoting tourism villages to 9 other countries and attract them to come and spend some nights at tourism village, live, learn and interact each other with our community to create brotherhood among them.

Conclusion

Tourism village functioned as an important medium for strengthening socio cultural pillar of ASEAN Community. The characteristic and many activities offered by tourism village will contribute in creating mutual understanding, friendly communication and knowing each other while learning traditional culture, habit of villagers. With the increasing number of ASEAN people visit Yogyakarta, it is a potential asset to support and creating ASEAN community through tourism village.

The simultaneously role of local and national government is very needed. The local government support is very important for developing tourism village: improve facilities and capacity building for villagers. Meanwhile, the role of national government through Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Republic of Indonesia is needed for promoting the tourism village abroad through Indonesian Embassies in all ASEAN countries.

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SUSTAINING ASEAN THROUGH ENHANCING REGIONAL COOPERATION IN HIGHER EDUCATION

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SUSTAINING ASEAN THROUGH ENHANCING REGIONAL COOPERATION IN HIGHER EDUCATION³

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Abstract

To sustain ASEAN means to keep its regional cooperation programmes, projects and activities in the various sectors among its Member States going, including cooperation in the education sector, especially higher education. Cooperation in education features significantly in the ASEAN Socio-Cultural Community (ASCC) pillar of the ASEAN Community. Although regular meetings of ASEAN Education Ministers (ASEM) was convened only in March 2006, adequate policy guidance for regional cooperation in the higher education sector had been provided as early as by the Bangkok Declaration-1967 on the aims and purposes of establishment of ASEAN and by the 4th ASEAN Summit in 1992. This paper touches on ASEAN policy guidelines on cooperation in education and ASEAN Work Plan on Education 2011-2015, and summarises the major programmes and activities of the ASEAN University Network (AUN) in the higher education sector, including the ASEAN Studies Programme, the AUN Quality Assurance (AUN-QA) System and the ASEAN Credit Transfer Scheme (ACTS). In considering how ASEAN could be sustained through cooperation in the education sector, the paper discusses some outlooks on expediting internationalisation of education in the region pertaining to enhancement of ASEAN Studies programmes, quality assurance of education, lifelong learning, collaborative research among universities, and University-Business/Industry Cooperation towards increased mobility of students and faculty members in the ASEAN region.

Keywords: ASCC, AUN, ASEAN Studies Programmes (ASP), internationalisation.

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Introduction

The ASEAN Socio-Cultural Community (ASCC) pillar of the ASEAN Community addresses the issue of health, labour, the environment, social welfare, gender, culture, and education (ASEAN Secretariat, 2004 & 2007). The overarching aim is to improve the lives of all ASEAN citizens, while the basic principle is social inclusion. As such, the work of the ASCC would also help ASEAN citizens understand the benefits of being in the ASEAN Community, fostering a sense of belonging, identification and commitment to the region's shared goals. ASEAN will be able to sustain itself and the region continue to flourish only when the citizens of ASEAN are committed to the ideals of shared identity, shared responsibility and shared prosperity.

Formal education has a key role in building a successful and resilient ASCC as it ensures students have the knowledge and skills to be productive members of the society and it instils in them the shared values of the community, fostering a bond to the community, so that they grow up to become responsible and caring members of the society. Although education is ultimately a national responsibility, but regional level ASEAN cooperation in education helps facilitate the exchange of best practices and acquisition of new techniques among its members. Many "capacity building" activities, which include training workshops, knowledge-sharing and the promotion of life-long learning, have been implemented by ASEAN. Capacity building helps the region's people gain the different types and levels of expertise needed to contribute to its economy and society.

A concrete human development strategy is essential in order to build a strong socio-cultural community and, in the ultimate, sustaining ASEAN. A concerted cooperation in education among ASEAN Member States, particularly in higher education, is indispensable. In other words, human development through education lies at the very core of a strong and resilient ASCC. Promoting improved standards and access to education through networking and institutional collaboration in the region, as well as between this region and the outside world, is one of the concerns being addressed under the ASCC Plan of Action 2009-2015 (ASEAN Secretariat, 2010a).

Historical Background

ASEAN Policy Guidelines on Cooperation in Education

Prior to the inaugural Meeting of ASEAN Ministers of Education (ASEM) in March 2006, ASEAN cooperation in education lacked concrete policy guidance at the ministerial level. In the early years of its establishment, ASEAN cooperation in education was under the purview of the ASEAN Sub-Committee on Education

(ASCOE) of the Committee on Social Development (COSD). When the COSD was later abolished in 1999, the ASCOE was left to plan and implement ASEAN regional cooperation activities in education at the secondary school level on its own, while the ASEAN University Network (AUN) Board of Trustees (AUN-BOT), assisted by its Secretariat, take care of cooperation in higher education since 1995. It was only in March 2006 that the meetings of ASEAN Education Ministers (ASEM) started on a regular basis upon the recognition of the ASEAN Leaders at their 11th Summit on 12 December 2005 in Kuala Lumpur, which recognised that *“education plays an important role in ASEAN’s social and economic development and its community-building efforts, including raising the awareness of ASEAN, instil the “we-feeling” and creating a sense of belonging to the ASEAN Community”*. (ASEAN Secretariat, 2006).

Before the convening of the ASEM, ASEAN education policy had been primarily guided by the declaration of the 4th ASEAN Summit in January 1992 in Singapore and the 9th ASEAN Summit’s *Declaration of ASEAN Concord II (or the Bali Concord II)* in October 2003 in Bali, Indonesia. The 4th Summit’s Declaration stated that:

“The ASEAN Member Countries shall continue to enhance awareness of ASEAN among the people in the region through expansion of ASEAN studies as part of Southeast Asian Studies in the school and university curricula and the introduction of ASEAN student exchange programmes at the secondary and tertiary levels of education” (ASEAN Secretariat, 1992),

and the Declaration of the Bali Concord II of the 9th ASEAN Summit on education stated that:

“ASEAN shall ensure that its work force shall be prepared for, and benefit from, economic integration by investing more resources for basic and higher education, training, science and technology development, job creation, and social protection. The development and enhancement of human resources is a key strategy for employment generation, alleviating poverty and socio-economic disparities, and ensuring economic growth with equity. ASEAN shall continue existing efforts to promote regional mobility and mutual recognition of professional credentials, talents, and skills development.”

“The (ASEAN Socio-Cultural) Community shall nurture talent and promote interaction among ASEAN scholars, writers, artist and media practitioners to help preserve and promote ASEAN’s diverse cultural heritage while

fostering regional identity as well as cultivating people's awareness of ASEAN.” (ASEAN Secretariat, 2004).

However, it is worthy to note that the 4th Summit's Declaration, actually, recalled one of the aims and purposes of the establishment of ASEAN, which was “to promote Southeast Asian studies”, as stated in the Bangkok Declaration of 1967 (ASEAN Secretariat, 1988) and, later, restated in the ASEAN Charter of 2007 as: ASEAN is –

“to develop human resources through closer cooperation in education and life-long learning, and in science and technology, for the empowerment of the peoples of ASEAN and for the strengthening of the ASEAN Community” (ASEAN Secretariat, 2009a).

Pursuant to the 9th Summit's declaration, the Vientiane Action Programme (VAP), which was adopted at the 10th ASEAN Summit in Vientiane in 2004 (ASEAN Secretariat, 2005b) and, subsequently, the ASCC Blueprint adopted in 2007 (ASEAN Secretariat, 2009b & 2010a), focused on the facilitation of universal access to education and the promotion of high standards in education⁶. Cognizant of these, the ASED had set out its broad goals and objectives for 2009-2015 in the ASCC Blueprint as part of the Roadmap for an ASEAN Community (ASEAN Secretariat, 2010a). The Blueprint includes a section on *Advancing and Prioritizing Education* as part of the larger effort on Human Development. For the work on education, the Blueprint sets out four objectives, namely:

- (i) Ensuring the integration of education priorities into ASEAN's development agenda and creating a knowledge-based society;
- (ii) Achieving universal access to primary education;
- (iii) Promoting early child care and development; and
- (iv) Enhancing awareness of ASEAN to youths through education and activities to build an ASEAN identity based on friendship and cooperation.

In order to meet these objectives, 21 activities have been identified that should be implemented by ASEAN, either independently or through close cooperation and collaboration with other like-minded entities within and outside the region, including its Dialogue Partners.

Education also figures in the ASEAN Economic Community (AEC) Blueprint which, in the section on facilitating the free flow of skilled labour, calls

⁶Before the adoption of blueprints on the three ASEAN Community pillars as contained in the Roadmap for an ASEAN Community, the VAP was ASEAN's work programme towards realising the ASEAN Community.

for ASEAN to harmonise and standardise related services as follows (ASEAN Secretariat, 2010b):

- (i) Enhance cooperation among the ASEAN University Network (AUN) Member Universities to increase the regional mobility of students and faculty;
- (ii) Develop core competencies and qualifications for job/occupational and trainer skills required in priority and other service sectors; and
- (iii) Strengthen the research capabilities of each Member State by promoting skills, job placement, and information networks among Member States.

Advancing Education: ASEAN 5-Year Work Plan on Education (WPE) – 2011-2015

The important role of the education sector in political and security, economic and socio-cultural pillars of the ASEAN Community was confirmed in the Cha-Am Hua Hin Declaration of the 15th ASEAN Summit in October 2009 (ASEAN Secretariat, 2009c), which **recognises the education sector as central to ASEAN's commitment to build the ASEAN Community by 2015**.

For the socio-cultural pillar, the education sector is expected to contribute to the establishment of a socially responsible ASEAN Community, one in which citizens share a common identity and dwell in a society that enhances the well-being, livelihood, and welfare of all people (ASEAN Secretariat, 2009c). Education is also expected to enhance the competitiveness of individual Member States and ASEAN, as a whole, by developing human resources, which is a common attribute of all the three pillars of the ASEAN Community. ASEAN is also committed to foster technical cooperation and capacity-building activities in the region, promote tripartite and public-sector cooperation, enhance the quality of skills of workers in all ASEAN Member States, and promote life-long learning (ASEAN Secretariat, 2010b).

The WPE serves as the framework to strengthen, deepen and widen educational cooperation within ASEAN. It supports ASEAN programmes that raise awareness of regional identity; promote access to and improve the quality of basic (primary and secondary) and higher (tertiary) education; support regional mobility programmes for students, teachers and faculty, and strategies for internationalisation of education; and support for other ASEAN sectoral

bodies having interest in education.⁷The overall objective of ASEAN cooperation on education is to build toward the vision of an ASEAN education sector in which individual Member States' education sectors offer progressive, systematic and organisational capacities, practices, and programmes that support and promote ASEAN's education access and quality, as well as the region's competitiveness in the global market.

The WPE also clarifies ASEAN's role as a regional partner in the education sector. It well noted that facilitating regional integration requires working with "educators and other organisations to provide a favourable environment for educational growth and employment creation" and giving "priority to capacity-building in order to develop a productive, competent, and competitive workforce" (ASEAN Secretariat, 2009d). Being multidimensional, the education sector requires a range of interventions clustered in four strategic priorities, which are intertwined, namely:

- (i) **Promoting ASEAN awareness** - to support ASEAN in its central mission of raising awareness of regional identity;
- (ii) **Increasing access to quality education** - to ensure a relevant and effective education for all citizens, especially the marginalised, throughout their life-time, providing appropriate standards, and allowing Member States to measure skills and competencies against established standards;
- (iii) **Cross-border mobility and internationalisation of education** - to promote regional sharing, cultivate a regional perspective among Member States and contribute to the spirit of regional unity and excellence; and
- (iv) **Support for other ASEAN sectoral bodies with an interest in education** - this includes promoting sustainable development through environmental education and student participation, promoting human rights education, etc.

The ASEAN University Network (AUN) and the Southeast Asian Ministers of Education Organisation (SEAMEO) would be the key partners in the implementation of these programmes. As many as possible universities and related institutions involved in higher education in the ASEAN region, should

⁷ For example, the ASEAN Senior Officials on the Environment (ASOEN); the ASEAN Committee on Disaster Management (ACDM); the ASEAN Senior Officers' Meeting for Social Welfare and Development (SOMSWD); the ASEAN Task Force on AIDS (ATFOA); and ASEAN Intergovernmental Commission on Human Rights (AICHR).

grow together while practising healthy competitions towards enhancing their respective individual quality and standard as institutions of higher learning.

ASEAN Regional Cooperation in Higher Education

ASEAN University Network (AUN) Programme

The declaration of the 4th ASEAN Summit in 1992 had also led to the establishment of the ASEAN University Network (AUN) in November 1995 through a charter (ASEAN Secretariat, 2009e) and an agreement (ASEAN Secretariat, 2009f), to spearhead regional cooperation activities among ASEAN Member States. As stated in its charter, the general objective of the AUN is to strengthen the existing network of cooperation among universities in ASEAN by promoting collaborative studies and research programmes on the priority areas identified by ASEAN, while its specific objectives are to promote cooperation and solidarity among scientists in the ASEAN Member States, to develop academic and professional human resources in the region, and to produce and transmit scientific and scholarly knowledge and information to achieve ASEAN goals. Upon its establishment in 1995, AUN started with 11 members, termed as Participating Universities, and has since increased to 30 members by the 29th Meeting of the AUN-BOT, held on 3-5 July 2013 in Yangon. The AUN enlargement helps reinforce the strength of the Network and enable AUN to make valuable contributions to ASEAN's prosperity and sustainable development.

AUN Programmes and Activities

In responding to the declaration of the 4th ASEAN Summit pertaining to the education sector, the AUN Charter stipulates that ASEAN Member States would enhance awareness of ASEAN among the peoples in this region which would be achieved through the expansion of ASEAN Studies (either as a standalone course or as part of the existing Southeast Asian Studies programme in school and university curricula), collaborative research among staff members of universities in ASEAN Member States, the introduction of ASEAN student exchange programmes at graduate level, and other related programmes (ASEAN Secretariat, 2009e).

The establishment of the AUN has contributed greatly towards promoting a regional identity through the development of human resources in the region. The various past and ongoing collaborative projects among Participating Universities, as well as those between these ASEAN universities and institutions of higher education from ASEAN Dialogue Partner countries such as China, the European Union (EU), Japan, and the Republic of Korea (ROK), are reflections of ASEAN's policy of internationalising its higher education.

In term of cooperation programmes at the ASEAN regional level, the AUN has been implementing course and programme development, academic exchange, cultural and non-academic programmes, development of systems and mechanisms in higher education, information networking, sub-networking programmes, training and capacity building, collaborative research, and database and knowledge centre, (ASEAN University Network Secretariat, 2012). Some of the main regular activities of the AUN under some of the abovementioned programmes, which are regarded as having contributed considerably towards ASEAN sustainability, are described briefly in general here. These include ASEAN Studies Programmes (ASP), students and faculty exchange, AUN Educational Forum and Young Speakers Contest, AUN Quality Assurance (AUN-QA) System, ASEAN Credit Transfer Scheme (ACTS), AUN Inter-library Online (AUNILO), and Development of Academic Directory.

(1) Course and Programme Development: ASEAN Studies Programme (ASP)

- **Undergraduate Level**

The ASEAN Studies Programme (ASP) has been the first prioritised activity of the AUN from the first year of its establishment. The AUN ASP was first introduced at the University of Malaya in 2000 (i.e. UM volunteered to host the programme) as a number of undergraduate courses at the Department of Southeast Asian Studies, Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences (FASS) (ASEAN University Network Secretariat, 2007). Students who took the courses came from several universities of ASEAN Member States and also from Japan.

Later in 2009, the AUN continued its effort to further promote ASEAN Studies at the undergraduate level, which would serve as a mechanism for fostering the awareness of regional identity and a sense of *ASEANness* among students in ASEAN countries. At an initial workshop held on 3-5 September 2009, in Kuala Lumpur ASEAN experts agreed to develop an undergraduate ASEAN studies curriculum which would combine the study of ASEAN as an institution and a process through which the peoples and cultures of the region would be brought into increasing interaction (ASEAN University Network Secretariat, 2009a). Following this, the AUN coordinated concrete steps towards developing an undergraduate ASEAN Studies Development Programme that would be both sensitive to differences across the region and committed to the integrative vision mandated by the ASEAN Charter. In early August

2011, the AUN engaged academic experts from some AUN Participating Universities to develop initial foundation courses on ASEAN studies in a regional and global context meant for students of its members and other interested universities in the ASEAN region. This was followed by a training of junior and some senior faculty members (lecturers) from some of the AUN Participating Universities by the same group of experts on 24-27 April 2012 at the Asia-Europe Institute of the University of Malaya. Thereafter, interested AUN and non-AUN Member Universities would be free to start their own ASEAN studies programme as and whenever they so wish.

- **Postgraduate Level**

AUN's efforts to have the ASP at postgraduate level started in 1997, even before it started the programme at undergraduate level in 2000. After a series of preliminary preparations which took almost ten years, the postgraduate programme was eventually offered as the *International Masters in ASEAN Studies (IMAS)* at the Asia-Europe Institute, University of Malaya beginning in academic session September 2006/August 2007, with full financial support from the Government of Malaysia through its Ministry of Higher Education (MOHE). This constitutes Malaysia's contribution towards the fulfilment of AUN's obligation to the core aspiration of the 4th ASEAN Summit's declaration on education, specifically on enhancing awareness of ASEAN among the peoples of this region.

The IMAS is being offered as a one-year programme (September-August) of full coursework (8 courses) with each course given in a 2-week module. Students are also required to undertake a two-month internship and write a Project Paper of 15,000 – 20,000 words as partial fulfilments for the Master's degree. True to its international concept, students taking the IMAS programme and the lecturers (Visiting Professors) come from within and outside the ASEAN region, especially from Europe. The programme provides an advanced level of understanding of the political, economic, social and cultural forces which shape ASEAN, as well as the attendant policy process. It aims to critically assess the significance of ASEAN as a regional organisation. This programme has been designed for students for whom a Master's degree will be a prelude to careers in fields related to business, international, regional, governmental and non-governmental organisations, or any career where an advanced

knowledge of ASEAN, regional integration and globalisation is a pre-requisite. It appeals particularly to those with an interest in historical, socio-cultural, political and economic aspects of regional integration.

(2) Academic Exchange Programme: Students and Faculty Exchange

This programme is aimed at enhancing academic mobility among students and faculty members in ASEAN countries, providing an opportunity for them to exchange knowledge and expertise, and promoting cooperation and solidarity among scholars, academicians and students in ASEAN Member States (ASEAN University Network Secretariat, 2007). It was started since the early years of AUN's establishment. Annually, several full and partial scholarships are provided by AUN Participating Universities for students and faculty members in the fields of language, religion, cross-cultural studies and etc. In academic year 2012-2013, 131 scholarships, were provided under this Programme (ASEAN University Network Secretariat, 2013).

(3) Cultural and Non-academic Programme: AUN Educational Forum and Young Speakers Contest

This programme was started in 1998 to provide opportunities for ASEAN students to share and acquire knowledge, values and attitude from each other; to provide a platform for ASEAN youth to express their ideas and opinions on ASEAN issues; and to create a network of friendship. It is participated by students and lecturers from ASEAN and, recently, also opened to the Plus-Three countries (China, Japan and South Korea). Activities of the programme include a speakers' contest, an education forum, guest lecture, a workshop and presentation on ASEAN issues, an educational trip, and a cultural programme. Hosting of the programme is rotated annually among ASEAN Member States and is organised by one of the AUN Participating Universities in the hosting country (ASEAN University Network Secretariat, 2007).

(4) Systems and Mechanisms of Higher Education:

- **AUN Quality Assurance (AUN-QA) System**

Quality improvement has been given strong emphasis in leading universities in ASEAN to ensure high quality standard of education towards harmonisation. AUN is promoting the development of a quality assurance system as an instrument for maintaining, improving and enhancing teaching, research and the overall academic standards of AUN Participating Universities. A Manual for Implementation of the AUN-QA Guidelines has been published for use as reference by Participating Universities and revised from time to time (ASEAN University Network Secretariat. 2006). In addition, the Guideline for AUN Quality Assessment and Assessors and Framework for AUN-QA Strategic Action Plan for 2012-2015 has been published to set the outline of strategic plan, including the key activities, in order to further develop the AUN-QA system through the enhancement of QA Assessment and capacity building among the AUN Participating Universities. The application of the AUN-QA assessment is programme-based and conducted on a voluntary basis(ASEAN Secretariat. 2012).

The AUN-QA system would also be extended to non-AUN Member Universities in the ASEAN region with the ultimate aim of acquiring regional and international recognitions. Towards this end, an AUN-QA Network would be established and AUN-QA Council has been appointed for this purpose comprising of the AUN Executive Director, an AUN-QA Expert, and three Lead Assessors (ASEAN University Network Secretariat, 2013).

- **ASEAN Credit Transfer System (ACTS)**

In 2011, the AUN published the Guidelines on ASEAN Credit Transfer System (ACTS) in the form of manuals for use by students and university administrators of its members to ensure common understanding and implementation (ASEAN University Network Secretariat, 2011). The first phase of the Scheme was implemented among AUN Participating Universities during the 2011-2012 periods. As of end of 2012-2013 implementation periods, a total of 12,369 courses were available on offer for student exchange and, as of July 2013, 130 full scholarships were offered under the ACTS scheme by universities for their students to study in other AUN Participating Universities (ASEAN University Network Secretariat, 2013). The Scheme would be expanded to include non-AUN Member Universities in 2014 in collaboration with ASEAN

International Mobility for Students (AIMS), and by 2017 it would be opened to all universities in ASEAN.

(5) Sub-Networking: Information Networking - AUN Inter-Library Online (AUNILO)

The AUN has established the AUN Inter-Library Online (AUNILO), including the AUN homepage with hyperlinks to the homepages of its Participating Universities; in order to enhance information networking and consequently to facilitate information dissemination and collaboration among them, leading to the establishment and development of an online information exchange system in these universities (ASEAN University Network Secretariat, 2012). The AUNILO Portal has also been established at the University of Malaya at <http://www.aunilo.um.edu.my>. Other AUNILO online platforms include Photo Gallery via FlickrPro fully accessible at www.flickr.com/photos/aunilo, AUNILO Community via Facebook at <http://www.facebook.com/AUNILO>. Through AUNILO, member libraries have been exchanging information on current trends of the usage of digital information and the implications for libraries and the utilisation of new technology, including exchanging experiences and ideas on moving library services from e-library towards m-library utilising mobile technology.

(6) Database and Knowledge Centre: Development of Academic Directory

The AUN Secretariat is developing an AUN Academic Directory, which would serve as the database and information hub of resources under the AUN framework of cooperation, namely on Human Rights, ASEAN Studies, Human Security Development, ICT, Economics and Business, Energy, Intellectual Property Rights (IP), University Social Responsibility (USR), etc. The Directory will facilitate possible cooperation in these areas and the database has been uploaded and freely accessible on the AUN website (www.aunsec.org) since 2013 (ASEAN University Network Secretariat, 2013).

On the whole, the AUN continues to be the main regional mechanism for networking among institutions of higher education in ASEAN. All the above mentioned programmes and activities of the AUN have benefited students and faculty members of its Participating Universities in the respective areas of cooperation involved and, thus,

contribute towards enhancing ASEAN sustainability. As indicated above, some of these collaborative programmes and activities have also been opened to participation by non-AUN members. Moreover, the Network will be expanded into a “Network of Networks” with a strong orientation towards regional integration of higher education development in the region and promotion of understanding among the people of ASEAN on the need to expedite the realisation of the vision of the ASEAN Community (ASEAN University Network Secretariat, 2013).

Future Outlook –*Enhancement of Internationalisation of Education*

The ultimate objective of cooperation in education among universities and countries is to enhance internationalisation of the education sector. Enhancement of the ASEAN Studies programmes, quality assurance and recognition, lifelong learning, collaborative research among universities, as well as university-business cooperation are important approaches which should be undertaken in order to further realise the internationalisation of education from the aspect of increased mobility of faculty and students in the ASEAN region, as well as between ASEAN and the outside world through the ASEAN-Plus-Three and the wider East Asia Summit (EAS) frameworks of cooperation.

Further Enhancement of the ASEAN Studies Programme

A good awareness of ASEAN is a pre-requisite for inculcating a regional identity and solidarity towards realising the ASEAN Community 2015 and thereafter. Therefore, it is indeed important to expand and widen the teaching on ASEAN at the school and university levels as envisioned under the aims and purposes of the establishment of ASEAN (Bangkok Declaration – 1967), declarations of the 4th and 9th ASEAN Summits, and the ASEAN Charter. Past and future students born in the ASEAN era cannot help but to be aware of ASEAN history and understanding of ASEAN as an institution, a process of cooperation among its Member States and as a region. The knowledge on the individual ASEAN Member States, together with that on ASEAN itself, with regard to its institutional aspects, fundamental principles and objectives, and the evolution and mechanism of implementation of regional sectoral cooperation programmes and activities, as well as the political, economic and socio-cultural forces which have shaped this Association could instil the spirit of ASEAN identity and community among the students.

It is encouraging to note that, of late, more and more universities in the region are exploring and already starting to implement ASEAN studies

programme either at the undergraduate or postgraduate level, or both. Nevertheless, collaborative efforts and regular consultations among universities in the region, either through the AUN or other networking processes, should be undertaken to review and update existing curricula and the contents of the courses offered under their respective ASEAN Studies Programmes, in order to ensure that they are in-keeping with the developments in ASEAN. In other words, future regional cooperation in education in ASEAN Studies should involve comparative studies among universities with a view to ensure quality education.

Quality Assurance and Recognition

Mutual recognition of qualifications and quality assurance are crucial for mobility and cooperation. Good quality of institutions and study programmes will create trust between higher education institutions and strengthen mobility within this region. External quality assurance of study programmes should be in place and, fortunately, this has been so in many of the ASEAN Member States. Thailand has also implemented the OECD/UNESCO guidelines for quality provisions in cross-border higher education (ASEM Education Secretariat, 2011). In this regard, national quality assurance bodies should be members of and cooperate with regional and/or international networks for QA, such as the Asia-Pacific Quality Network (APQN), the ASEAN Quality Assurance Network (AQAN) and the ASEAN University Network Quality Assurance (AUN-QA) to promote mutual understanding for QA between countries in the region and to support the exchange between universities with quality assurance cooperation. Also, initiatives should be undertaken continuously and consistently to develop joint principles of QA for universities to ensure more and better information and transparency, for example, through expansion of joint and double degree programmes.

The level of education systems in the ASEAN region is still varied from country to country. While the earlier members of ASEAN (Brunei Darussalam, Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore, and Thailand) have had a long experience of building their own QA culture and system, the later members (Cambodia, Lao PDR, Myanmar and Vietnam – CLMV) have just begun their journey on the QA standard. Quality Assurance in Cambodia, Lao PDR and Myanmar, in particular, is a new development, both in QA system and QA professional competencies (ASEAN Secretariat, 2012b). Nevertheless, some universities in Vietnam do already have QA personnel who are more knowledgeable and experienced in QA issues through training assistance from some ASEAN Dialogue Partner countries and international agencies such as the World Bank.

Lifelong Learning

Lifelong learning is an important and most effective way to acquire new or updated skills, competences and qualifications to ensure employability of the labour force. It is a solid framework for sustainable human resource development, which deserves specific attention for intensified cooperation among ASEAN countries, as well as between the ASEAN countries and those in other regions, especially within the Asia-Europe Meeting (ASEM) process.

To facilitate lifelong learning, all countries should undertake efforts to develop their respective National Qualification Frameworks (NQFs). NQFs contribute to better understand and compare qualifications of different countries and their education systems across the entire lifecycle of learning and, thus, facilitate mobility and recognition of qualifications. As an important instrument to describe competences and improve recognition, mobility and lifelong learning, NQFs should be based on learning outcomes. The concept of learning outcomes is known in this region, although not in all countries, and it is encouraging to note that Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines and Thailand, already have an NQF in place, and a regional level ASEAN QF is being explored (ASEM Education Secretariat, 2011). Further, to ensure national consistency, contemporary relevance and national and international portability of qualifications, these NQFs should be continuously strengthened. Qualifications will prepare graduates for both work and further learning, ensuring clear pathways through different qualification types and levels. Essentially, if such NQFs exist, they should be compatible with each other as well as with regional ones, in order to contribute towards facilitating the transfer and recognition of qualifications.

Collaborative Research

Collaboration in research among universities would strengthen their research capabilities and ultimately provide them with skills and ideas towards a better understanding of the region; assist and enable students to achieve excellence in multidisciplinary research, postgraduate education and training to meet the growing demands of the worlds of academia, economics, politics, science and technology and the arts; provide them with theories, methodologies, practice and applications in order to keep pace with current developments in research and have the opportunities to work in different ASEAN settings; and foster a stronger cooperation among universities in the region through networking, exchanges of expertise, joint researches, joint supervision, and the sharing of experiences and curricula.

Collaboration in research would be in tandem with the rapid development of a globalised world and the culture of seeking knowledge globally. Collaborative

research activities will provide a fulfilling and stimulating research and educational experience with a comprehensive range of research areas in all fields of natural sciences as well as social sciences and humanities in this part of the world that are rigorous, challenging, and innovative. In other words, both depth (interdisciplinary approaches) and breadth (exploration of other kinds of knowledge in other related areas) of knowledge would be catered for. Collaborative researches among universities would help to foresee the changes of societal and industry standards, trends and behavioural patterns and, most importantly, strengthen the cooperation and exchanges in tertiary education.

The ASEAN region, especially, is continually in need of new knowledge and data to formulate future strategies and plans of action for cooperation in the various political and security, economic, and socio-cultural sectors. The collaborative research activities should be structured to serve the above-mentioned purposes. In-depth researches conducted by the researchers (faculty members and students) under the collaboration can provide more and up-to-date information on the various areas of regional sectoral cooperation under the ASEAN framework. Therefore, collaborative research among universities will provide new knowledge and enhance a better understanding that can serve policy guidelines and recommendations for member governments to pursue, as well.

University-Business/Industry Cooperation

In today's globalising world it becomes more and more important to promote and enhance university-business/industry cooperation for improving the employability of students and graduates. Special fora involving stakeholders from the education and economic sectors should be organised to strengthen dialogues and cooperation between education and industry at national and international levels. Actions should be taken by countries to identify skills sought by employers. Higher education institutions should cooperate with potential employers in curriculum design. No doubt, many universities in this region, in one manner or another, are already exploring such cooperation (in accreditation, development of curricula, industry personnel engaged as teachers in universities, providing student internship/industrial training placements in companies, collaborative research projects, sponsoring chairs and scholarship programmes, etc.). However, such endeavours should be more consistent and further strengthened. For example, Vietnam has signed several MOUs on educational cooperation with international businesses in human resource development (HRD) for the need of the world of work in key areas (ASEM Education Secretariat, 2011). Other countries in the region should undertake similar efforts soonest.

Conclusion

Good progress in the implementation of the ASEAN 5-Year Work Plan on Education (WPE 2011-2015) would ensure good foundations for achieving specific goals on cooperation under ASEAN cooperation framework and ASEAN sustainability. These, among others, include enhancing the ASEAN regional identity through education, and expansion of student and faculty mobility through a wide range of regional programmes. The ASEAN WPE 2011-2015, together with the respective national education work plans of Member States, has a significant importance for the empowerment of the peoples of ASEAN and for the strengthening of the ASEAN Community.

With the ever-emerging challenges and opportunities in education in a globalised world, countries in the region need to further collaborate toward development of a more coordinated, cohesive and coherent ASEAN positions and their contribution to global education issues. At the same time, there is also the need for greater interaction and dialogues between ASEAN bodies in-charge of education with other ASEAN sectoral bodies which have an interest in education, as well as with regional and international educational organisations, ASEAN Dialogue Partners, the private sector and other parties to ensure synergy, minimise any overlapping areas of cooperation, and to maximise efficiency in the allocation of resources. Member States should put more effort to avail national resources to implement programmes and activities of the respective national education work plans. In addition, the ASEAN-help-ASEAN approach should always be adopted and strengthened to help the lesser developed ASEAN Member States.

Especially within this region, where and when opportunities exist, joint initiatives and activities should be undertaken with the Southeast Asian Ministers of Education Organisation (SEAMEO) and its regional centres to achieve the shared goals and advance the educational purposes articulated in the ASEAN Charter. Of special note, is the proactive role of the ASEAN University Network (AUN) and SEAMEO-Research Institute on Higher Education Development (SEAMEO-RIHED) in promoting student mobility within the ASEAN region. In this regard, the ongoing implementation of the ASEAN Credit Transfer System (ACTS) among the AUN Member Universities should be further extended to all eligible universities in the future to facilitate more student mobility and raise a number of exchange activities at in-country level and inter-country level between ASEAN universities, as well as beyond the region.

Indeed, ASEAN should continue to pursue its earnest effort to sustain the noble venture in academic relations between its various institutions of higher learning, especially the AUN Participating Universities and those in other regions of the world, especially within the ASEAN-Plus-Three and the East Asia Summit

(EAS) cooperation frameworks. The momentum of collaboration in topics of mutual interest, and the awareness of students in ASEAN countries have regarding ASEAN cooperation in higher education among them and between them and other countries in other regions of the world, should be kept on the increase in the course of time. Needless to say, the various existing cooperation frameworks in ASEAN should be fully utilised for all these endeavours to enhance regional internationalisation of education.

In this connection, the ASEAN Leaders at the 22nd ASEAN Summit, held on 24-25 April 2013 in Bandar Seri Begawan, Brunei Darussalam, had expressed their strong commitment to further strengthen human resource development in the region and acknowledged the importance of cooperation in education in improving regional productivity and prosperity and welcomed cooperative projects that were being and would be implemented (ASEAN Secretariat, 2013). Specifically, they welcomed progress made on the ASEAN Credit Transfer System (ACTS) and the Technical and Vocational Education and Training (TVET) Quality Assurance Framework to accelerate student mobility and human resource empowerment in the region. The ASED, through its Senior Officials Meeting (SOM-ED), will be coming up with an ASEAN State of Education Report to provide relevant data and information from national sources for use as references and guides in planning future cooperation for the development of education in the region (ASEAN University Network Secretariat, 2013). All in all, future cooperation in regional education will help realise the ASEAN Community 2015 and contribute towards sustaining ASEAN thereafter.

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OPEN AND DISTANCE E-LEARNING: CAPTURING ORALITY AND VISUALITY FOR RESEARCH, TEACHING AND LEARNING AS FRAMEWORK FOR ART IN ASEAN COURSE

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OPEN AND DISTANCE ELEARNING: CAPTURING ORALITY AND VISUALITY FOR RESEARCH, TEACHING AND LEARNING AS A FRAMEWORK FOR ART IN ASEAN COURSE

Grace Javier Alfonso Ph.D.

Abstract

This paper proposes a new mode of research, teaching and learning that is seen as appropriate for areas of studies that need to go beyond the written words.

“Art in the ASEAN Region” is a course in the ASEAN Studies Graduate Program of the UP Open University. Art is a product of cultures, ways of life of different people with shared meanings in facing their challenges and potentials. The aspects that have the strongest influence in their artworks are the government’s cultural directions, religion, art trade, art education, and the artists as they see themselves as artisans, crafts people or empowered artists. The course is designed as research that captures the visuality of the artworks and the orality of the artists and other major participants in the processes that contributes in the creation of the arts and reflects the cultures of ASEAN nations. It uses the framework of Open and Distance eLearning (ODEL) that maximizes the affordances of ICT and Web 2.0.

The paper will present the course design, sample course development and production, and sample course activities that foreground “multimedia as research”. The conduct of teaching and learning of Art in the ASEAN Region (ASEAN 222) will be approached as a research course that mandates a well-designed evaluation and assessment that captures the learners’ use of multimedia as research as it extracts from the artworks the processes of innovativeness and creativity through a different level of literacy- that of orality and visuality maximizing ICT’s interactive, connective, ubiquitous and constructivist pedagogy as it thickens the discourse and presents new knowledge in the field of Art in ASEAN.

Keywords: Art in the ASEAN, multimedia as research, Open and Distance eLearning

I am presenting this paper as an administrator of an Open and Distance eLearning institution, a multimedia practitioner, a teacher and a researcher. And as someone who sees the value in teaching art in a cultural critical perspective. This then grounds this research, teaching and learning approach in a multidisciplinary platform making use of interpretive areas of sociology, anthropology, media studies and art studies in making sense and meanings of art, artworks and artifacts. This is a narrative of the processes that the writer is going through in the developing, designing and producing Art in the ASEAN Region Course as part of the Master of ASEAN Studies being offered by University of the Philippines Open University.

UP Open University and the Open and Distance eLearning World View

UP Open University (UPOU) is a constituent university of the University of the Philippines system that offers all its programs completely online. Its migration to a completely online teaching and learning environment started in 2001 and grew together with the development of the Internet and the UPOU became completely online in 2007. The UPOU offers Associate in Arts, Bachelor of Arts, Graduate Diploma, Master of Arts, Doctor of Philosophy and Doctoral programs in the fields of Education, Information, communication, Management, Environment, Social Work, and Health sciences. These are under the Faculty of Education, the Faculty of Management and Development Studies and The Faculty of Information and Communication Studies Majority of its formal programs are of graduate level, which has ultimately tagged UPOU as a graduate University and seventy five percent of its students are graduate students.

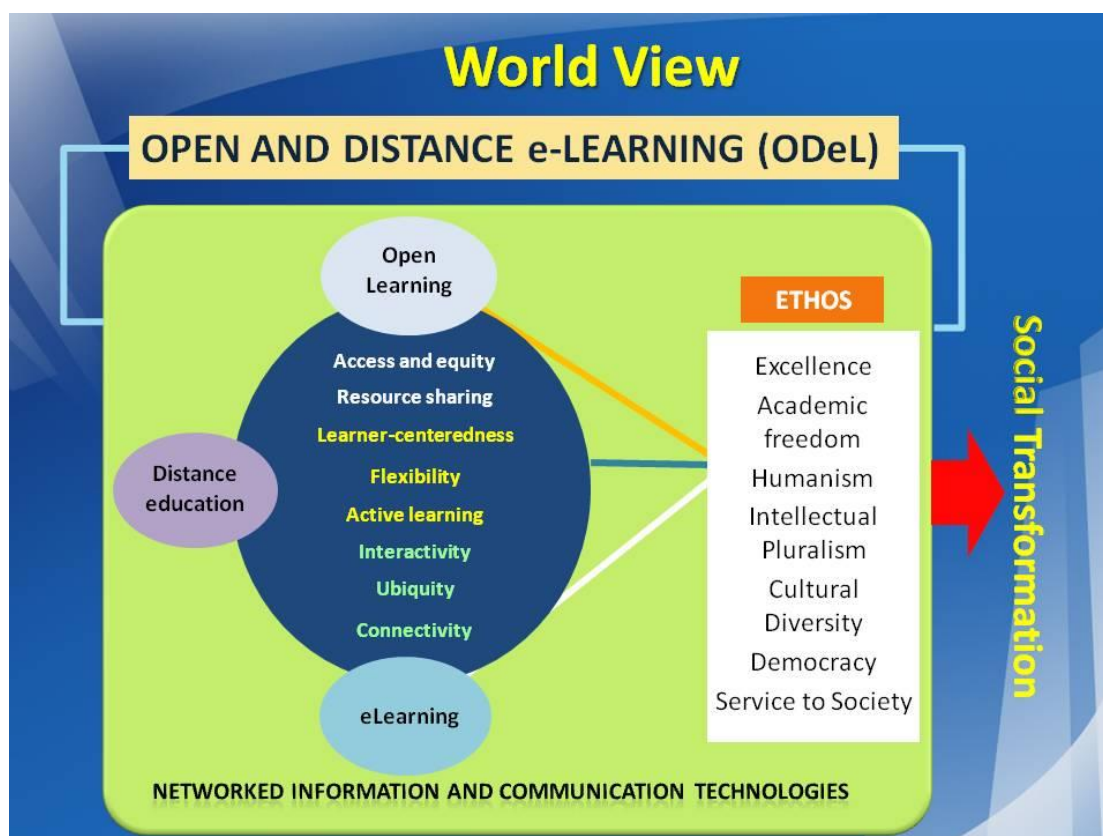
The Graduate Diploma and Master of ASEAN Studies

The latest addition to its list of offerings is the Diploma and the Master of ASEAN Studies, which was developed and had its core courses written by five Open Universities in the ASEAN Region. These are the Universitas Terbuka, Indonesia; Open University of Malaysia, Hanoi Open University; Sukhothai Thamathirat Open University, Thailand and UP Open University, Philippines.

The development of the ASEAN Studies by these five open universities mandated that the course materials developed and the others to be developed carried with it the authentic voices of the different and diverse cultures of the region. The UPOU, having all its courses delivered online and maximizing the affordances of the Internet and Web 2.0, found itself in a position to initially offer a full ASEAN graduate program globally. Twenty percent (20%) of the total student population of UPOU are spread in more sixty locations in more than 40 countries.

UPOU's adoption of Open and Distance eLearning (ODEL) as a World View of teaching and learning draws from the concepts of access, equity and sharing, the open philosophy of **Open Learning**, the flexibility and learner centeredness of **Distance Education** and the ubiquity connectivity and interactivity of **eLearning**.

These are values that underpin the universitas – excellence, academic freedom, cultural diversity, intellectual pluralism, and service to society. These ethos create the spirit of the university that we all recognize. Together, all these elements are embedded and facilitated by networked information and communication technologies and make up what we refer to as Open and Distance e-Learning (ODEL). The interweaving of these components can bring about social transformation.



Art in the ASEAN in the ODeL Framework: Capturing Orality and Visuality in Research, Teaching and Learning

I can say that the Open and Distance eLearning framework allows me to configure my course in the digital environment expanding the various ways of making ideas move dynamically using its aspects of connectivity and ubiquity of the Digital platform. With this view that the Internet is able to carry trillions of conversations, dialogue, voices, images and movement synchronously and asynchronously enabling the use of Web 2.0 platform, I was tasked to develop, design and produce the course ART IN THE ASEAN REGION (ASEAN 222).

The Course Design

And its course objectives are the following.

At the end of the course, the student should be able to:

1. Understand the creative traditions in Architecture, Sculpture, Painting, Weaving, Theater and Dance in Indonesia, Thailand, Vietnam, Malaysia Cambodia, Myanmar, Lao, and the Philippines;
2. Have an enriched understanding of monuments, architecture, murals, performances and sculpture as public art;
3. Understand some of the major Religion's and belief systems strengthening the arts of the ASEAN region;
4. Consider the effects of World Trade, Colonial experiences, Popular Culture, Museums, Gallery distribution and the ideas of national pastime and entertainment in the formation of national traditions of art; and
5. Practice critical thinking in the study of the arts

Our course materials are designed using the resource-based course package approach. All interactions between and among tutors and students take place in a Moodle-powered learning management system (LMS) called Myportal. As you know, this LMS has features for online forums, chats, videoconferencing, blogs, and other communication tools. The ASEAN 222 course is designed as such. I am still in the development stage of the course and I am integrating the lessons learned from the courses I have been teaching online for the past twelve years.

Using these as the models or prototypes, in the multimedia courses I teach for example, I facilitate the maximum exchange of ideas among students through online forums. Students submit their multimedia requirements online and conduct and disseminate their research using multimedia approaches and

formats. I do immediate feedback and give both qualitative and numerical assessment

I have tapped the social media like Youtube and Vimeo to deliver content and elicit reflective thinking from my students. I have also produced video lectures of my own that are accessible at the UPOU Networks, a web-based repository of OER in rich media.

UPOU, in choosing to deliver its courses one hundred percent online, sees learning as being able to access course materials in hypertext, hyper-multimedia from our UP Open University resources, repositories/libraries of the world, and multi-texts from communities of practice.

UPOUNETWORKS as Digital Repository

These UPOU produced videos are lodged in UPOU Networks, a web-based repository of OER in rich media. In some cases, I also refer my students to videos in Youtube or Vimeo. There are likewise numerous academic articles from the community of practice and or academic journals from the web.

Interaction in online courses takes place in four levels: Learner-content interaction, learner-learner interaction, learner-teacher interaction and learner-community of practice interaction.

To promote Learner-content interaction, content in distance education is delivered to students through technology. In the courses I teach, I normally require my students to view video lectures, read online academic articles from the community of practice and journal articles: the videos by resource persons who are the experts in the field; together with the videos of our artists and art scholars that are produced by UPOU's Multimedia Center.

I refer my students to videos in Youtube or Vimeo and UPOU productions in UPOU NETWORKS. I give them relevant guide questions, which they can ponder on as they engage with the course materials. As you can see, my students and I go beyond the use of our LMS which we call My Portal. Beyond the online forums, chat, videoconferencing and the course guide and resources listings are questions in online forums. The questions enable the students to expound on the concepts covered in the course materials and apply the concepts in their own contexts. Students are encouraged to post their ideas and react to each other's postings.

To promote learner-teacher interaction, I post my course guide with all the requirements and the points of discussion. I make it a point to do immediate feedback on Myportal, our Learning management system. I will require my students in ASEAN 222 to produce videos to document "art in everyday life" in

their own communities. In my present classes I am amazed at the themes and narratives pursued by the students. Not only do they tell personal and resource persons engaging stories, many of them also speak of the wider socio-political-economic context in which these stories are situated. This is in line with the use of multimedia as research. After submission, I provide numerical as well as descriptive assessment of the students' work.

For learner-community of practice interaction, aside from being immersed in their communities when they do their video research, I encourage them to enter their works in the platforms Vimeo and You tube, digital video exhibitions, festivals, and competitions, just like the one UPOU organizes every year for its students to elevate the discourse in public spaces.

Most crucial in the design is the positioning in the center of its pedagogy for teaching and learning is multimedia as research with a strong constructivist perspective. This has been designed as a research course and with the view that the teacher and the students are co-creators of academic texts.

The Production of the ASEAN 222 Course Materials

Units 1 and 3 are the parts where the students will be asked to read chapters from e-books, e-journal articles and video lectures both accessible from the e-library or the Web and/or produced by the UPOU Multimedia Center, our in-house production equipped with the hardware and with creative staff to work with the members of the faculty, course writers, course designers and media specialists collaborating to do the pre-production, production and post production of the course materials. The following are the topics taken up under Units 1 and 3:

Unit I: Introduction to ASEAN Art

Module 1: Art as Identity

Module 2: Reading the Arts

Unit III: Researching ASEAN Art

Module 13: Art as Epistemological Lens

Module 14: Art Research Methods

I have started with the videography of some of the art, artwork, artists and other players in the art scene of the ASEAN region. It is most important that I capture the authentic voices of the artists, art critics, cultural sociologist and anthropologists, art curators, art traders, art patrons, national and local cultural officials and the other stakeholders in art and culture. This automatically reproduces academic texts orally and visually putting forth the importance of

developing and strengthening other forms of literacy as in orality and visuality. The use of written words alone may not be doing justice to the need for authenticity and the capturing of the true beat of the art and culture of each nation. This is most crucial as we would like to show the uniqueness and diversity of our cultures and identities. Our region's respect for our diversity of cultures is our richness and our strength as ASEAN. UNIT 2 of ASEAN 222 course shows this diversity and richness.

Unit II: Art in the ASEAN Region

Module 3: Brunei

the Kris: Gilded Icons of Power

Jong Sarat-Gold and Silver-Threaded Textiles: Glitter in
Everyday Wear

Pandan Baskets and Gongs: Sustainable and Organic

Medium Folk, Kedayan and Malay: Music and Dance in Rituals

Module 4: Cambodia

Ankor Wat, The Hindu Temple dedicated to Vishnu: a Testimony
to a Glorious Past and Wars of Governments

Sculptures of AngKor Thom: Narratives on Stone

Khmer Traditional Music and Dance: On Preserving a
Cultural Heritage

Module 5: Indonesia

Batik: Art as a Way of Life

Non-Figurative Visual Tradition: Islam's Legacy

Theater and Dance Narratives: Bali and the Hindu Tradition

Burubudur of Central Java: Vestiges of Buddhist and Hindu
Kingdoms

Pencak Silat: the Art of Resistance

Module 6: Lao

Epic poems of the early life of Siddhartha Gautama
Buddha:

Strengthening of Oral Tradition

Khene Music: Winds of the Bamboo Pipes

Lamvong: The National Dance

Module 7: Malaysia

Mak Yong and Gamelan: Traditional Drama in Music,
Song and Dance

Wayang Kulit: Traditional Ramayana Theater Art-Form of
Puppets and Shadow-Play

Bunga Malai: Garland Making in Festive Celebration

Module 8: Myanmar

Mural Painting Tradition: The visual narratives

Parabeik Painting: Images on Parchment

“Pantamot” art of making stone sculptures: Buddha Images

Module 9: Philippines

Churches and Paete-Betis Sculpture: Dominance of
Catholicism

“Bulol” and Wooden Sculpture of Northern Philippines: a
Tribute to Nature and the Spirits

Tinalak, Hablon, and Abel Weaving: Survival of a Tradition

Basket and “Banig” Weaving: A creative form in the Islands

Festivals and Dance: Art of the Streets

Fine Arts Tradition, Contemporary Visual Arts and the
Gallery Systems: Education and Market Forces

New Digital Media Cultural forms: Embracing the
Independent Spirit

Module 10: Singapore

Art in the World Market

High Rise Architecture: Art as a Socio-Political Dictate

Module 11: Thailand

Thai Temples: The Indian Hindu and Thai Buddhist
Traditions

The Grand Palace and the Emerald Buddha: Anointing

Royalty

Thai Dance: Roots of Entertainment in the Royal Courts

Bronze, Stucco, Wood and Stone Sculpture: Spiritual
Serenity in the

Images of Buddha

SangKhalok Pottery: Sukhothai Style in Everyday Form

Thai silk of Khorat Plateau: the Silk Trade

Module 12: Vietnam

Lacquer Paintings and Wares: A Popular Art Form

Wood Cut Printing: Organic materials as Art space

Cai luong and Hat Cheo: Theater Traditions of Vietnam

Water Puppetry: A Distinct Art Form

Unit III: Researching ASEAN Art

Module 13: Art as Epistemological Lens

Module 14: Art Research Methods

The Design of the Activities

In the design of the activities, assessment and evaluation- the addition to new knowledge in the field of study, the theorizing is seen in the selection of footage and its putting together of footage that sets the viewers thinking and interpreting additional insights and interpretations that go beyond cliché's and mainstream interpretations strengthened by synthesis or reflection papers. This pushes viewers, the student, the teacher and those who will eventually see and understand the multimedia use to engage in critical thinking through the mere making accessible through multimedia the images, conversations, interpretations by those who are participants of the Arts in the Asean being studied. These may likewise not be usually accessible or may only be accessible in the written form and become by itself the contribution to the growth of the discipline or field of study. Here is a brief of the activities required in which details of the instructions are inserted in the activity bins of the virtual classroom in MyPortal.

Course Requirements:

1. Forum Participation - 15%
2. Synthesis Papers - 20%
3. Reflection Paper - 20%

4. Fieldwork Research and Documentation - 30%
5. Final Exam - 15%

Issues and Challenges in Open and Distance eLearning in Teaching and Learning of Art in ASEAN

Despite these efforts, the University is aware that there are still some issues and challenges in Open and Distance eLearning that we must address as an academic community.

First, there is a need to do more empirical and socio-cultural-critical research work on the co-creation of knowledge and practices in the context of the ODeL communities. At present, the University's faculty members and research staff have been active in conducting studies on ODeL as well as presenting papers at international conferences and fora. Having said this, there is still a lot more that can be done to assess the pedagogical practices that we are employing in our online courses. While the University requires faculty members to publish their work in peer reviewed journals, I also encourage academics to disseminate their work in social media and for universities to recognize these efforts as part of the universities' extension function. In addition, we must also use multimedia not only as an object of study but also as a methodological approach and a means to disseminate our research findings beyond academic circles.

Second, we need to work with more partners to help address issues of digital divide in the country.

As of now, the UPOU has been working with various institutions like the Telecentre.org to establish internet-enabled computer centers in remote parts of the country. In some of our scholarship programs, we have sought to include netbooks, internet access, and broadband sticks as part of the package of financial support for our financially deserving students. In addition to such interventions, we as an e-learning community must also find ways by which we can tap the most ubiquitous of all ICT tools in the country – the cellphone, the eMobile generation of tools materials and instructional designs and pedagogies for teaching and learning that are most appropriate for this ubiquitous format.

Third, we need to seek more partners in the development of Open Educational Resources OERs from the ASEAN perspectives to complement the existing Western-centric OERs. In global terms, our country has been a net consumer of these academic texts. Given our facility in the English language, we in the Philippines have basically depended on Western produced materials to help us with our teaching and learning functions. As part of the global community, Filipino and ASEAN scholars must share experiences and perspectives by putting all our academic texts out there in the web for the global

community to consider and use. ASEAN scholars will have to claim our space in the limitless web. ASEAN voices, narratives, ideas, concepts and constructs have long been drowned by ideas from big nation states in the traditional forms of publications, books and libraries. Let us proliferate the web with ASEAN scholars' works and voices for us and for the many other developing countries in the world. Let us be in the forefront of this movement... together with the many others whose voices have been marginalized for so long and push for respect for cultural diversity as well. I am hoping that the ASEAN 222 course can be a venue where ASEAN Scholars can contribute to help in making this course truly ASEAN.

Fourth, the web is a non-linear medium. Traditional cultures like the Philippines has a long oral tradition. According to Thomas J. Farrell, orality is participatory while print is objectively distanced. In orality, the author is dubbed as the performer; however, the listener is part of the performance and therefore is likewise the author. Web-based learning is capable of reconfiguring a space for orality into what Walter Ong presents as second orality through its use of hypertexts and hypermedia. Hypertext brings back the non-linear, non-hierarchical organization of information of primary orality. to come closer to local knowledge and we mean not only ethnic knowledge but the everyday process of the communities of practice. The University has adopted these web-based technologies not only to deliver content but also to design learning activities that foster analysis, reflection, interaction and creativity. In this environment, the student gains more power and become more accountable for her/his own learning.

In this digital times, with all universities and colleges are pushing to be technology enhanced, there is the need to prepare our teachers to internalize the non-linear nature of the web. While our current crop of students has been born in the digital age, many of us are simply immigrants to this highly connected and constantly shifting world. E-learning technology is characterized by that unending cycle of conversations and dialogues. It has that openness for the thickening of discourse that is recorded through this flickering medium. If universities were to maximize the affordances of the web, teachers and learners will have to be eloquent in this new technology just as we had become conversant in the technology of writing. Teachers and learners will have to go beyond traditional technologies' "linear" nature and understand and appreciate how to think non-linear as well.

Lastly, it is also imperative to explore ways to incorporate in the digital environment the universitas ethos that have sustained universities for ages – excellence, academic freedom, humanism, intellectual pluralism, and service to society. Massive Open Online Courses MOOCs offered by Coursera, Udex, Udacity OpenLearn and the like have helped to revolutionize teaching and

learning by making lifelong learning opportunities more accessible to ordinary citizen. UPOU has produced its MOOCs on Android Applications, Business Out-Processing Management and Business Communication through UPOU's MOOCs platform - it is for free. There will be more MOOCs before the year ends. It has worked because it made use of the connectivity that's inherent in social media to connect a wide network of learners and experts. In the formal education sector, we have yet to maximize the benefits of social media in our classes. There is still some work to do to make social networking a potent means for meaningful learning. I am hoping that courses in the ASEAN Studies with the Art in the ASEAN (ASEAN 222) in particular be offered as a Massive Open Online Course in the very near future.

**IF 'IT AIN'T WHERE YOU'RE FROM,' IT'S NOT
EXACTLY WHERE YOU'RE BORN'**

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IF 'IT AIN'T WHERE YOU'RE FROM,' IT'S *NOT EXACTLY* WHERE YOU'RE BORN'⁸

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Abstract

This paper seeks to determine some factors that shape ethnic and racial identities as informed and mediated by political, social, and cultural conditions and diasporic interactions in some Southeast Asian countries. It also identifies--by way of histories, discourses, debates and reviews--how respective diasporic origins/roots and contacts affect transnational communities in the region.

It argues that while Chinese and Indian migrations⁹ may have dominated major flows across the region, other trends in contemporary cross-border movements in post-colonial nation-states have also competed for significance in the current discourses on citizenship and mobility. Conflicts, gender, technology, religion, among others, have been implicated in the attempts to map the spatial dispersion of Asian peoples. This paper draws from a number of studies to demonstrate how this has come about.

One's origin and/or birthplace seem convenient legal tools to bar entry, restrict movement and stay, but in the world at large—in Southeast Asia in particular—they are inconvenient and unsatisfactory excuses to maintain homogeneity, social stability, and state security.

Keywords: Diaspora, migration, citizenship, Southeast Asia

8. Paper submitted to the International Conference on ASEAN Studies, 1-2 October 2014, Yogyakarta, Indonesia. This quotes a kind of reply to Gabriel (2011).

9. Zhu (2007); Kaur (2012)

Diaspora studies in Southeast Asia

Diaspora studies are a tricky business sometimes meant to guide policies for foreign nationals, aliens and even state-business relations. Whether classically done as simple accounting of how people of non-native descent actually share communities and resources with those actually afforded these by birthright or in so-called cultural studies fashion meant to “decolonize” diaspora theorizing (see., e.g. Fee 2003), there appears little agreement as to how diasporas should be better understood.

What diaspora studies must consist of and what analytical methods ought to be deployed also take center stage in current debates. A number of writers privilege the part played by ethnicity, homeland and host country (see, e.g., Chiang (2010) in describing the experiences of sojourners and migrants in spaces of dispersion. It is the experiences of the diaspora groups that ought to be well considered, argues Harutyunyan (2012:5). Experience and locus of diaspora experience are not neutral. Chiang (2010:6) says, defines diaspora as “a phenomenon constituted under conditions derived from unequal power relations in the global context. Diasporas, as a product of transnationalism, are grounded in systems of inequality.” Where this happens, diaspora identity (or identification) becomes a challenge to notion and conduct of nation-states.

The variety of current diaspora experience draws less from previous takes on the character obtaining in “narratives of uprooting, displacement and migrancy” (Tsagarousianou 2004: 54). Nowadays, it makes sense to view diaspora “new beginnings” to understand their behavior in foreign contexts. Question is how should this suggested approach be realized? As Ho (2004) opines that it may be important to know where diasporas get “homogenized”—before or after migration—while others seek to be attentive to processes of “communication,” “imagination,” “exchange,” reaction to actual conditions in their host locations in construction of identity and culture. Cohen expresses it succinctly as the “horizontal (re-) organization of the world” by “overlapping, permeable, multiple interactions” on contemporaneously with the state’s vertical efforts. Given the intensity and the expanse of mobile and diasporic peoples, one might be able to also hazard the complementary process of diasporic influence upon world and state order.

Southeast Asia being the site of migration for millenia has also produced a colorful display of multi-ethnic communities but largely contributed by the Chinese and Indian communities of different backgrounds. Such Chinese and Indian migrations to Southeast Asia have been the focus of major works owing to the volume and impact of these foreign persons on economy, politics and culture of the receiving societies. It is, however, not only ethnic composition of these Southeast Asian diasporas that have shaped the trajectory of this internal

movements within the region. Other factors such as conflicts, gender, technology, and religion have also exerted influence in the resulting diasporic nature among Chinese and Indians in Southeast Asia.

Shaping ethnic and racial identities

Diaspora is about migration of “ethnic groups” (Reis 2004:46).

However, the concept of ethnicity pits so-called “primordialists” and “situationalists” into camps claiming the exclusiveness of “natural,” “given,” “static” traits in constituting ethnicity as against the use of ethnicity in relation to other ethnic identities in specific contexts. (Tong 2010:4-5), that is in using likeness vis-à-vis difference.

In Southeast Asia, reference is generally more to the ethnic Chinese and Indians. Ethnicity thus used underplays questions of race. Race as oftentimes used relates to quests, desires or programs for equality in advanced world context. This could be attributed to the waves/periods of migration and diverse compositions of migrants who have settled on foreign lands. The view that diaspora is more about the process of “community formation” or development of consciousness suggests that ethnicity is becoming less important in explaining diasporic trajectories (Butler 2001: 193).

If diaspora consciousness is more about ethnic identity, then a number of discourses detailing historical exclusion and accommodation by various parties for both Chinese and Indian migrants have contributed to relentless debates. Thus, efforts at ethnicity formation, if that is really possible, would have to be treated much more than what is offered by competing claims as to its definition. For instance, as Tong (2010: 7) illustrates, “Chinese ethnicity cannot be isolated by any particular identity marker or ethnic boundary, but rather manifests itself through the complex phenomenon of multiple Chineseness.” Same could be said of a number of Indian groups- Sindhis, Punjabis, Tamils, Chettians –who have settled and received different treatments across Southeast Asian countries at various periods.

This can imply that ethnicity comes from a variety of sources, may be conveniently kept for some individuals and groups who may or may not adapt to the new environments as they maintain their decision to live among other peoples. The tensions residing even in diaspora ethnicity challenge greater imagination for better understanding:

The new theorizations of diaspora instead conceive of ethnicity not as an essence, but as a positioning in the national narrative within specific social, cultural and political conjunctures ...These re-conceptualizations of

ethnicity, where identity exists in tension between ‘here’ – ‘where you’re at’ – and ‘there’ – ‘where you’re from’ – participate in what Paul Gilroy has termed the dynamics of inhabiting that liminal space between ‘roots’ and ‘routes’, where there is an ongoing dialogue between the past and the present, the ancestral and the new homelands to provide postcolonial societies points of new beginnings and ‘becoming’ for the construction and representation of cultural identity. In this way the conceptual fissures, crossings and ambivalences of diaspora constitute productive tensions that interrogate essentialist notions of home, ethnicity, national identity and belonging. (Gabriel 2005: 241)

Finally, by way of comment, diaspora studies seem to have dealt more—if taken from primordialist viewpoint—with “pure-blooded” migrants, parents and offsprings of original genetic composition. Homogeneity maybe risked with this line of viewing ethnicity. For the locals, essentialist views of eye shape, skin color, etc as ethnicity identifier will probably result in harm in tense atmospheres. They may also ignore histories of conflicts within, say, Chinese diaspora groups, themselves.

It may be important to too situate diaspora conditions of hybrid diasporas as it is here where the circumstances of ethnicity could be better empirically associated with relationships with host states/societies.

Furthermore, while diaspora studies are often taken from the larger, global developments (e.g., Amrith 2011) what other studies may seek to achieve is a deeper analysis of the role of global developments in shaping local attitudes towards diasporas in respective countries. Changing perceptions, for example, of China worldwide, have stirred various reactions on the settled Chinese elsewhere as perhaps the Japanese were in the United States as Japan bombed Pearl Harbor sought to occupy allied countries in Southeast Asia.

Chinese and Indian migrations in Southeast Asia in citizenship and mobility discourses

Some 18-20 million ethnic Chinese are said to live in Southeast Asian countries, making 80-85 percent of all overseas Chinese (Tong 2010:1). A higher figure of 26 million though has been submitted for the Chinese, about about 4.5 million for the Indian overseas population. The numbers aggregate immigrants, temporary workers, students, etc. and may be unable to account for the ebb and flow of the respective diaspora populations.

Singapore, Malaysia, and Thailand top the Southeast Asian countries with Chinese blood in their veins. Here even estimates using “ethnicity” as identifier seem inconsistent. In Thailand, the 14 percent estimate of Thai Chinese covers only full-blooded Chinese, but the “Singaporean-Chinese” ethnic grouping of almost three-quarters of the island state’s population puts together all full or partial descent. Nonetheless, the “ethnic” Chinese in these three countries and elsewhere in Southeast Asia have gained materially and socially in these countries. It is, however, the tourist Chinese from the mainland of recent times who are the object ill repute (see, e.g., Associated Press 2014) . “Diaspora China,” not “Chinese diaspora” as commonly termed, is more a product of modernity and “late capitalism,” suggests Khoo (2007) and has been “exoticized” not solely by the diaspora but by other externalities. Khoo quotes Graham Huggan as to the impact of exoticisms other than the natives’: “exoticism describes a political as much as an aesthetic practice. But this politics is often concealed, hidden beneath layers of mystification”.”

Chinese and Indian Diasporas in Southeast Asia

Country	Chinese (estimate) Number/Percent Population	Diaspora of	Indian Diaspora ¹⁰
Indonesia	4 %		Negligible
Thailand	14 %		.07%
Vietnam	1.1% (823,00- 2009 census)		Negligible
Cambodia	7 %		Negligible
Laos	6 million		Negligible
Myanmar	2 million		Negligible
Philippines	1.5 % (18-27% Chinese ancestry) - 28,705 ¹¹		8,963 ¹²
Malaysia	32 % (Malaysians of Chinese descent) ¹³		7 % (7.3%-7.7%) ¹⁴
Singapore	74.1% (full/partial)		9.71 %

¹⁰ Indian Diaspora. <http://indiandiaspora.nic.in/diasporapdf/chapter20.pdf>

¹¹ Philippine Statistics Authority, “Household Population by Country of Citizenship: Philippines, 2010.” 2012.

<http://www.census.gov.ph/sites/default/files/attachments/hsd/pressrelease/Citizenship%20oby%20Country.pdf>

¹² Philippine Statistics Authority, Foreign Citizens in the Philippines (Results from the 2010 Census). 19 November 2012. <http://www.census.gov.ph/content/foreign-citizens-philippines-results-2010-census>

¹³ Leong H. Liew, ‘*Ethnicity and class in Malaysia*’, in *Ethnicity in Asia*, ed. Colin Mackerras (London: Routledge, 2003), p. 88, Cited in Gabriel 2005: fn 9, p. 237

¹⁴ Cited in Malaysia Department of Statistics, 2000, cited in Rai (2010: 43)

Brunei	11% (400,000) ¹⁵	2.3 %
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Sources of data: various (see below)

Suryanarayan (n.d.) distinguishes the characters of Indian and Chinese migrants in Southeast Asia:

The Chinese presence in the region is substantial, 26.0 million, whereas the Indians are relatively small, 4.5 million. Except in Myanmar, Malaysia and Singapore where they constitute 5.0 per cent, 8.0 per cent and 7.0 per cent respectively, they are a microscopic minority in all other countries.

The difference between the Indians and the Chinese is clearly evident in the economic sphere. The economic achievements of the Chinese are out of all proportion to their numbers. According to *National Review*,¹⁵ in Indonesia, the Chinese are less than 4.0 per cent of the population, but they have 75 per cent of the wealth. In Thailand, the Chinese represent 8 per cent of the population, but control 80 per cent of the wealth. The numbers are even more amazing in the Philippines, less than 2 per cent, but control 70 per cent of the wealth. Even in backward countries – Burma, Cambodia and Vietnam – Chinese entrepreneurs are behind the vast majority of private enterprises”. This is not to imply that all Chinese are billionaires, but most of the business tycoons are Chinese. Unfortunately the contributions of Indian minority groups to the economic transformation of Southeast Asian countries are negligible. Though the Indian Chettiars did play an important role in the economic life of Burma, Malaya and Vietnam in the colonial era, they brought back their savings to India and did not take roots in these countries. The Indians today own only 1.5 per cent Malaysia’s national wealth. And according to informed sources, the per capita income of a Singapore citizen of Indian origin is less than the national average.

How diaspora is conceived also partakes of the differences in reaching and enriching the diaspora knowledge. For example, Naujoks takes the state/legal definition of the Indian diaspora:

The term "Indian diaspora" refers to all persons of Indian descent living outside India, as long as they preserve some major Indian ethnocultural characteristics. Only nationals

¹⁵Brunei Economic Planning and Development Department, cited in Osman (2012); cf. <http://indiandiaspora.nic.in/diasporapdf/chapter20.pdf>

of Pakistan and Bangladesh are excluded from this term since those countries were part of the larger British India before 1947 and thus constitute a special case.

A common distinction with regard to ethnic Indians outside India, often referred to as overseas Indians, is made between non-resident Indians (NRIs), who hold Indian citizenship, and persons of Indian origin (PIOs), who do not. (Naujoks 2009)

Meanwhile, including only so-called persons of Indian origin (PIOs) in his study Lorenzana (n.d.) takes the occasion to compare the Chinese and Indian diasporas in the Philippines some years ago:

Compared to the Chinese diaspora in the Philippines, Indians pale in comparison in terms of population and volume of economic activities. However, Rye (1993) points out that Indians' reputation far exceeds their estimated number of 31,000. The Indian diaspora here includes mostly Punjabis and Sindhis, and Indian professionals working in multinational companies and multilateral organisations. Majority of Sindhis and Punjabis are permanent residents but not citizens. Sindhis, like their counterparts in other countries, are known as industrialists and traders; Punjabis, on the other hand, who usually come from the districts of Jullundur, Ferozpur and Ludhiana in the Indian state of Punjab, are usually into small-scale money lending business and trading. Unlike majority of Sindhis that tend to live in gated communities in big cities, Punjabis are more integrated into local communities in the Philippines.

The role of conflicts, gender, technology, religion in diasporic spatial dispersion

Some factors have caused the Indian and Chinese diasporas in Southeast Asia to be integrated/assimilated in relevant countries through time. Most of these are connected to the economic role assumed by these diasporas in particular locations in their host countries.

Conflicts

Tensions and outright violent confrontations. The case of Indian in Cambodia, says Willmott (1967:30-31) emanates from the identification of the Pondicherry Indians (who became French nationals) with French colonial civil service, the image of Indian merchants as “exploiters” in the Khmer economy and the overbearing belief that Hindu civilizations tops others, Cambodia’s included.

Same Cambodian attitude to Chinese developed but cooled down as the India-China conflict erupted in 1962.

Chinese presence in Southeast Asia during the Cold War and beyond was perhaps one of the biggest causes of official challenges to some Southeast Asian countries like Malaysia, Indonesia and the Philippines where the Chinese were seen as Communist infiltrators seeking to realize Beijing's vision in this part of the world. Large-scale persecution of the Chinese, including the expulsion and imprisonment of some, became integral to law enforcement as these countries sought to join the Free World alliance program of containment.

Following the 1997 Asian financial crisis, ethnic Chinese were summarily killed in Indonesia in the May 1998 riots on instigation by a military organization that steadily diminished power in post-Soeharto *reformasi* (see, e.g., Tajima 2014: 18)

Religion

Indian diasporas came with different religions and created not only different formations among themselves but also among host peoples. Hinduism came with Indian traders, so did Islam to insular Southeast Asia. The historical role played by Indian cotton and spice traders in the various ports of Java and the rest of Southeast Asia before, during and after colonial era allowed waves of people who introduced both Buddhism and Hinduism to the mainland and the maritime realm. Worship of Hindu gods spread to pre-modern state formations as rulers sought legitimacy for their rule. Buddhism too left behind huge artifacts of now Cambodian heritage sites that connect the legacy of dynastic rulers to the Indian quest for nirvana and perfection. Built originally as a Hindu temple but later on became Buddhist haven, the supposedly religious relic Angkor War contemplated to be copied by a Hindu organization in India becomes a ground for raising protest Indian Muslim migration to insular Southeast Asia and Laos in pre-colonial and colonial eras have had different results, the latter owing to the character of their movement sponsorship (British rulers).

Technology

Technology impacts of diasporic character in terms of speeding up mobility. Transporting populations has never aided diasporas more than in recent memory. From junks and sailing merchant ships to modern-day air transport has permitted transcendence of natural and national boundaries, at least in Southeast Asia. So with information and communications technologies that help virtual reunifications of migrants and families but also transfers of resources (money remittances especially) that now compete with trade and other economic activities as sources of growth and development, no matter if, say young, well-

educated Indian workers in Southeast Asia are underpaid (ADB, 2006). An ADB study reports, thus:

Indians form the third largest group of immigrants. They work mainly in the service industry like restaurants and in manufacturing. About 74% send less than RM1,000 (or US\$263) per month. The average salary for restaurant workers is about RM900 (US\$236) per month, although cooks earn a little bit more. Room and board is usually included for restaurant workers, and the working hours are from 12–14 hours per day. Some restaurants pay a little less like RM600 (US\$157), but the working hours are also less. The salary for those working in manufacturing is higher. Indians also form the second largest group of expatriate or professionals; they earn on average RM5,000 (or US\$1,315) per month. (ADB 2006: 183)

Sex/Gender

Available data, at least for Singapore, suggest improving sex ratio among Indian migrants. Table below shows gradual increase in Indian female contribution. While this may indeed indicate family life improvements, this may also imply increasing “feminization” of Indian diaspora labor force, at least Singapore whereas before males simply dominated the scene.

Indian Population in Singapore, 1871–1990

<i>Year</i>	<i>Indian Population ('000)</i>	<i>Proportion in Total Population (%)</i>	<i>Growth Rate (% per Annum)</i>	<i>Sex Ratio (Males per 100 Females)</i>
1871	11.5	11.8	–	475
1881	12.1	8.8	0.5	404
1891	16.0	8.8	2.8	416
1901	17.7	7.8	1.0	421
1911	27.8	9.2	4.6	491
1921	32.3	7.7	1.5	498
1931	50.8	9.1	4.6	535
1947	69.0	7.4	1.9	299
1957	129.6	9.0	6.5	220
1966	135.8	7.0	0.5	164
1970	145.1	7.0	1.7	152
1980	154.6	6.4	0.6	132
1990	190.9	7.0	2.3	118

Source: Computed from official publications.

Cited in Sandhu and Mani 1993:867.

This is just one aspect of sex/gender disaggregation of the diaspora in Southeast Asia which can still be improved if census/statistics authorities find the resources to make detailed tallies. If increasing female diaspora involvement leans towards changes in diaspora consciousness, then it should correlate with changes in women's and men's perceptions or attitudes towards a creeping female diaspora.

Elsewhere, the gender-in-diaspora takes on the challenge of "transnationalizing" the visual, "exotic" character of the female diaspora. Khoo's amplification of the Chinese diaspora exotic seems to provide an exit from the Western view contemplated in culturalist movements in diaspora studies. Reviewing images and messages displayed and embedded in films and novels portraying Chinese female characters evokes thinking of de-centering of the mainland in such discourse industries of the contemporary China studies and associating femininity to the "new Asia" as represented by Southeast Asia, among others, where Chinese diasporas have been one main concern. In her own words, Khoo sums up the intention of this major undertaking:

My central contention has been that exchanges within diasporic cross-cultural contexts have produced new images and representations of Chinese femininity, but these can also be negotiated so as to create the possibility of positive agency for its subjects. In order to find a 'place' for new images and representations of Chinese femininity to exist, old representations must first undergo displacement. (Khoo 2007: 170)

Viewed by both diaspora insiders and outsiders, the propositions made in connection with gender hewes closer to an essentialist view, despite negotiability of femininity representations, of the diasporic women. Womanhood, like its counterpart, reacts to structural conditions and subtleties of cultural contexts. Their political implications are perhaps the better measure of diasporic impact. Deeper knowledge of illicit involvement of segments of the diaspora and criminal groups lead women especially to cross over to the "grey areas" of prostitution as documented by Leaveau (2007) at the Thai-Malaysian border.

Origin/Birthplace: If 'It ain't where you're from,' it's *not exactly* where you're born'

This has been a broad, preliminary and tentative survey of Chinese and Indian diaspora that has sought to surface how, other than the volume of diasporic flows, other factors such as conflicts, religion, technology, and gender

have shed light on the conditions of these major ethnic groups living in expanse of Southeast Asia.

The good many Chinese and Indian people in ethnonational, ethnocultural settings face different situations that they themselves seek to live with or improve and consider in the maintenance of their identity as so dictated by the legal frameworks ruling people of foreign descent. Some have succeeded and transformed their host situations to their gain and advantage. Many others who are visualized and essentialized by their physical features are continuously minoritized, excluded, exoticized no matter if they are already nth generation diasporic communities and nationals.

Generations of Indians and Chinese diasporas have been born in Southeast Asian countries, not in India or China. The general attitude would have been if they were not born in India or China, then they are not completely from these two countries. But such has not been the case. Only a handful of countries have extended legal protection to these peoples.

The Chinese and Indian states have varying attitudes to their overseas populations that color the link between the diasporas to the homelands. Both great civilizations and mighty powerhouses in the world economy today, China and India in Southeast have not ceased to contribute to the shaping of communities in the real lives and experiences of the of the host peoples.

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THE CONTRIBUTION OF THE ORGANIZATION IN MYANMAR'S ROHINGYAS: BEYOND THE ETHNIC-RELIGIOUS CONFLICT AND ITS IMPLICATION TOWARDS SOUTH-EAST ASIA

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Abstract

The clash among Buddhist Arakanese, Myanmar's government and Rohingya Muslim runs nearly half of the century. The violation among them has been inevitable, and until now, there has no clear solution to overcome the conflict. Stateless and also repressed, many Rohingyas flee abroad, asking for sanctuary to Pakistan, India, Saudi Arabia, and some countries in Southeast Asia, like Malaysia, Indonesia, and Thailand. Even though, it looks complicated; Rohingyas also struggle for their problems through political channels, especially through organizations. This paper aims to examine the contribution of Rohingyas' groups to the struggle of the Rohingyas people in reaching their rights and the implication of these organizations in the ethnic-religious conflict in South-East Asia and how it may affect the regional security.

Keywords: Rohingya, Myanmar, discrimination, identity, human rights, organization, rebellion, protest.

INTRODUCTION

Rohingyas is mostly living in Arakan, Myanmar. Rohingyas are Muslim, who lives in Myanmar Buddhist population. Moreover, in the terms of the use of language and physical similarity, Rohingya is closer to Bangladesh, India, or Arabic, rather than the people of Myanmar itself (Januari 217). These differences became some of the causes of ethnic conflicts and racial discrimination in Myanmar, particularly in Rakhine.

The clash among Buddhist Arakanese, Myanmar's government and Rohingya Muslim runs nearly half of the century. The violation among them has been inevitable, and until now, there has no clear solution to overcome the conflict. The conflict between the Buddhist Arakanese and Rohingya Muslim in 2012 considered as the worst conflict between them. This incident has caused the death of 90,000 people in both parties (Singh xxi). The incident in May 2012 in Myanmar became a representation of the conflict that hit Myanmar for more than half a century. With the development of democratization in Myanmar, this conflict has become an international issue. The ethnic-religious conflict becomes a significant issue, and the conflict cannot be regarded merely as a domestic issue, especially the conflict-affected to thousands of Rohingyas refugees who are forced to live in Malaysia, India, Bangladesh, and Indonesia without definite residence status.

Conflicts in 2012, allegedly originated from the acts of violence and news of the attack carried out by some of the Rohingyas people against one of Arakan's women. No doubt, this class then made their relationship became worse than before. Historically, the actual relationship between the Muslim and Buddhist Arakan Rohingya is quite good formerly, but this is changing and particularly since World War II, in the 1930s. The complexity of the ethnic issue has been around since a long time, where two ethnic groups feel they are indigenous people who claim more entitled to live and inhabit in the area (Singh 28).

Each party has its assumptions and arguments concerning the residence status in the area. Assumption and also the main argument held by Rohingyas based on previous experience, while Myanmar was under British colonization and became an independent state, the British government had promises and policies for the provision of "Muslim National Area" on Muslims (especially for Rohingyas) in Arakan. Therefore, the Muslim community and non-Buddhist support British at the time. By contrast, the Arakan Buddhists tend to support Japan. The collapse of British Administration because of the Second World War raised racial tension and conflict between two sides became inevitable. Each party claimed that most casualties fell on their side, where the Rohingyas claimed that during World War II, Buddhists massacred more than 100,000 Muslims. On the other hand, Buddhist Arakanese people were denied the charges and claimed the

same thing against Muslims (Singh 26). Sustainability of the conflict lasts until now, between the majorities Rohingya Muslim *vis-a-vis* Buddhist Arakan and also against the Myanmar government who supports the majority.

The issue of discrimination and racial conflict may not be a significant concern formerly, especially in international level. However, since more and more Rohingyas flee away from Myanmar and live in refugee camps, these stateless Rohingyas then bring a new issue for the states around in Southeast Asia. Rohingyas issue is slowly becoming a global concern because this issue could damage relations between countries, especially in Southeast Asia. The political policy 'non-interference' in ASEAN towards Rohingyas in Myanmar considered have impact to the sustainability of the current political and security issues in Southeast Asia region. In fact, it can be said that ASEAN almost has no role in the case of the Rohingyas in Myanmar because of this principle 'non-interference' (Wakhidah 50 - 2).

The problem of Rohingya in Myanmar is not only focused on the presence of Rohingya refugees in other countries, but also because the threat of Myanmar government towards the Rohingyas and some ethnic minorities in Myanmar, like Christian Karen, Chin, Kacin, and Mon (Wahidah 2). What happened to the Rohingya is more than just the ignorance of one state to its community, but also the ignorance of human rights that make these neglected populations cannot live rightly. According to Weissbrodt and Collins, stateless is not only prone to gross violation of human rights, but also difficult in accessing basic rights relating to political, social, and economic, because the stateless have no issued document that is required to access these basic rights (265). Singh (36-43) mentioned some human rights abuse relating to Rohingya's stateless status. The consequence, Rohingyas are not considered as a citizen in the national census. Because treated as non-citizens, they are required to obey specific procedures and documents if they want to travel, even inside Myanmar. They also have no rights to participate in a general election. Disturbingly, the government of Myanmar also accused executing the gross human rights violation to Rohingyas. The military junta not only disturbed Rohingyas to conduct religious worship, but also forcibly took away their money, livestock, or farm. They are even kidnapping, raping, and torturing the Rohingyas, and some forced into labor. These include the treatment of other countries to the Rohingyas refugees, as a prisoner instead of as a refugee.

Because of the non-recognition policy towards Rohingyas by the government as mentioned above, Rohingyas have been forced to evacuate because of the Military Junta and Buddhists Arakan pressure. They fled to neighboring countries and asked for asylum. According to Refugee Council USA, there is estimation that one million Rohingyas have fled Burma by boat, nowadays the refugees have to live outside Myanmar, living in Malaysia,

Bangladesh, Thailand, and the Middle East. It is approximate more than 140,000 has remained internally displaced in Rakhine State.

Although the Rohingyas have lived in discrimination, but they are not directly run and become into refugees. Although dealing with the government of Myanmar, the Rohingyas also seeks to fight the injustice by establishing some political organization. Unfortunately, from some organizations or movements, the famous actions are with radical ideas, which according to Singh (xxi, 62, 82), makes Rohingyas now known as radical groups, even labelled as terrorists. It is less profitable because of this ethnic receive additional sick 'label' from Myanmar that strengthening the government's justification to expel Rohingyas from Myanmar.

From the explanation above, this paper aims to probe Rohingya's political organization in order to gain their basic civil rights, and how these team is play the roles in the Rohingyas struggle, and also the implications for regional security especially Southeast Asia.

LITERATURE REVIEW

COMMUNAL GROUP

Human being has a wide range of communal identity. They base on various circumstances (such as historical experience, religious beliefs, language, and ethnicity). Differences of identity of this communal makes some group receive different treatment, either by the government or other communities. This different treatment means rejection or, on the other hand, some groups get certain privileges, which make the communal group members more aware of the similarities that bind them.

The sense of communal groups by Gurr (3): "Communal groups are psychological communities: groups whose core members share a distinctive and enduring collective identity based on cultural traits and lifeway that matter to them and to others with whom they interact."

Meanwhile, the term politicized communal groups used for communal group who experienced at least one of the following two criteria: the group is experiencing economic and political discrimination, and the group creates a political mobilization to gain support for their group. The difference in treatment of the communal group may encourage them to demand. Especially when the communal organizations face injustice, discrimination, and any other things. Various factors can encourage communal groups do the movement such as protest or even rebellion.

However, in an effort to mobilize these demands, communal group has a wide range of interests. Therefore, there are four things to consider related to it:

- 1) Collective interests of communal groups are not the same.
- 2) The existence of a political organization is considered crucial to express the collective interest.
- 3) Some political expression of communal groups is more authentic than others.
- 4) Group interests and goals vary according to the conflict.

Gurr stated there are some factors encourage communal groups, especially minority, do the protest and rebellion (123).

1. Grievances and Political Calculation

The assumption of this theory is the group's activities based on their anger or grievance regarding their status, aggravated by the desire to pursue the political interests, which is directed by the leadership group. The method base on two other perspectives in conflict analysis, relative deprivation and group mobilization, which public dissatisfaction is the primary motivation for political action, then there are a figure who use the situation and mobilize the group.

2. Group History and Status

a) Extent of Collective disadvantage

The groups are said to have a disadvantage if they are in a situation of injustice. Collective disadvantage often lead to grievance or anger of one group to another. Three dimensions of collective disadvantaged are economic and political differences, discrimination group, as well as ecological and demographic pressures.

b) The Salience of Group Identity

The status of the group often can be assessed from its salience. For the indigenous people, their salience is usually stronger than any other groups that have assimilated into the community, but it also depends on the character, whether it is strong enough to be a reason for loyalty to the group.

c) Extent of Group Cohesion and Mobilization

Cohesive Group affiliated in dense networks of communication and interaction. Mobilization means the members of the group want to give their energy and resources to pursue common interests. Typically cohesion would be stronger in the group are concentrated in one area rather than scattered group. The traditional structure group is relatively more cohesive

than others. The basis for political mobilization can be a religious movement, economic associations, or political parties.

d) Repressive control by the Dominant Group

Communal group with subordinate status that experience violation may keep their anger against the dominant group. Assistance and political support to countries in the third world, for example, contribute to protecting the repressive power against minorities.

3. Opportunities for Political Action

The movement such as protest, campaigns and also rebellion, formed by a strategic decision, tactical, and through assessment by the leader or activist in communal groups. Therefore, the concept of political opportunity is crucial to explain this phenomenon. Another sudden factor can also contribute, such as the environment changes in a group-shift in power and policy, the prospect of political alliances, and the availability of international political and logistical support. These factors affect the timing of political events, the demands that will make, and the choice of strategy will use.

4. Global Processes that Intensify Grievances

a) Expansion of the state

New independent states tend to expand their power. The development is politically aimed to assimilate the communal group, to extract their resources, income, and labor for interest of the states. However, such expansion will increase the grievance of communal groups that are unable to protect their autonomy or to participate in a coalition government.

b) The Development of a Global Economic System

The rapid progress of the industry that makes human exploit natural resources has given an advantage to several communal groups but harmed other parties. Indigenous people are often the most affected. Their resources and energy abundantly exploited for the interest of regional and international economy. Their reaction usually pretty harsh because their lives relies on nature.

5. International Diffusion and Contagion of Conflict

Modernization has worsened the disappointment of communal groups and encourages them to react defensively to protest or to rebel. One example of indigenous movements was the American Indian Movement in the 1970s.

6. Effects of State Power and Democracy on Political Action

Political context of communal group's action base on institutional and political capabilities. There are three significant factors in this political case:

the state power, political values and institutional practices of democracy, and the destabilizing effects of democratization.

a) Uses of state power

For newly independent state or have recently experienced a revolution, the development is politically aimed to fulfill its interest. They are usually stable countries with abundant natural resources and can accommodate or suppress the minority groups. Most of the negative impact of the expansion of the state perceived by the indigenous people whose local resources controlled by the state. This situation sometimes raises the possibility for rebellion.

b) Institutionalized Democracies

Conflict with ethno-politic group varies depends on how the state implements universal norms of human rights and opportunities for all citizens, including minority groups, indigenous people, and others. For the minority groups who live in the country that has advanced democracy, they had fewer political barriers. The groups tend to prefer the protest movement rather than rebellion. Because it is appropriate with the political culture of democracy. If the group uses a strategy of protest with violence or terrorism, it will lose public support.

c) Democratizing autocracies

Democratic autocracy (absolute) often establish by Third World countries in trying to build a more participatory and responsive political system. The implementation itself is quite problematic. Unlike the developed country which is usually democratic, autocratic democracies are also providing an opportunity for communal groups, but the countries lack resources and institutions to accommodate democracy. Democratization even gives the way for actions of protest and rebellion. The risk is rejection or disapproval of one party could lead to civil war.

In line with Gurr have explained, Reilly (7) also explains some reasons behind the growing problem in internal conflicts in one state. They vary such as the spreading of poor people; ethnically diverse countries; the effects of the expansion growth modernization and democratization; and international norms in the birth of new states. He also examines the impact of intra-state conflict upon the international security agenda, through the engagement of different actors; the internationalization of domestic and national problems; cross-border movements of arms and people; increasing risks to maritime transport; and the possibility for increased superpower rivalry in the region. Reilly emphasized that it was no longer possible to see internal, regional and international conflict as separated problems. They connect and affect each other's.

GOVERNMENT POLICY IN MYANMAR

The primary factors in viewing the conflict in Myanmar between Buddhist Arakan and Rohingya nowadays are the alignments and different government policies toward ethnic groups in Myanmar. Myanmar government's policy has been different in some periods, from established civilian government which considering democracy and the fulfillment of human rights, until the leadership of Myanmar's military junta. Dualism between the civilian government and military relations describes the difficulty and complexity of the problems faced in Myanmar.

No.	The Ruling Government	Period	Policies
1	PM U Nu	1948 - 1956	<p>Burma gained independence from Britain on January 4th, 1948. U Nu was the first Prime Minister of the newly independent Burma, and he had to deal with an armed uprising, the rebels including a variety of ethnic groups, the communist groups White Flag and Red Flag, and some regiments in the Army.</p> <p>Another challenge is the isolation of the Kuomintang (KMT). After being expelled from China by the victorious communists, they set up a base in eastern Burma, and it took a few years in the early 1950s to drive them out.</p> <p>A system of institutionalized democracy and parliamentary elections held several times. He voluntarily relinquished the position of Prime Minister in 1956. He was also one of the leaders of the League of Anti-Fascist People's Freedom (Anti-Fascist People's Freedom League) from 1942 until 1963.</p>

2	Prime Minister Ba Swe	1956 - 1957	U Ba Swe, the AFPFL members, was a Prime Minister from June 1956 to June 1957.
3	PM U Nu	1957 - 1962	<p>On 26 September 1958, U Nu asked Army Chief of Staff General Ne Win took over as "interim government", and Ne Win inaugurated as Prime Minister on October 27, 1958.</p> <p>At the general election in February 1960, U Nu won with a landslide victory over the faction led by U Ba Swe and U Kyaw Nyein. U Nu returned and forms Pyidaungzu (Union), the government on 4 April 1960.</p> <p>It is less than two years after the victory, Nu overthrown by a coup led by General Ne Win on March 2, 1962. After the 1962 coup, U Nu put into custody at an army camp outside Rangoon.</p>
4	General Ne Win	1962 - 1988	<p>Ne Win was a leader of the BSPP (Burma Socialist Programme Party). He prioritized military actions that often leave records of human rights violations. According to Ne Win, the military action can prevent the disintegration of the State.</p> <p>The military junta formed under the name of The State Peace and Development Council (SPDC).</p> <p>The government did not include Rohingyas into the 1982 national census.</p>
5	Saw Maung	1988 - 1992	The military junta had a new name as the State Law and Order Restoration Council (SLORC).

			<p>The SLORC issued draft death penalty for people who are trying to do a demonstration, through a constitution was passed by the legislature.</p> <p>He imposed martial law to deal with the massive protests in 1989. There were barely right to argue. There was scrutiny of the press and mass media. The system of government was not democratic and authoritarian.</p>
6	Tan Shwe	1992 - 2011	<p>In the era of Tan Shwe, the military junta was not only a brutal regime, but also racial. In fact, oppression or racial discrimination was more prevalent to the non-Burman ethnic. It makes insecurity rate in Myanmar is quite high. The civil society barely given greater participation in government.</p>
7	Thein Sein	2011 -	<p>The latest development, the national census in 2014 in Myanmar finally record the Rohingya population as citizens of their country, but on the condition, they cannot claim themselves as 'Rohingya', but as 'Bengali' if they want to be recorded in the national census.</p>

Traces of time for each period of Myanmar government are important because they can be an early indication for examining government policy towards the fulfillment of the citizen rights in Myanmar. It is also able to help the understanding of authoritarian government which reflected in the continuity of the Military Junta political attitudes, and the unfair policy-making that could bring instability in political, economic, and socio-cultural.

ROHINGYAS AND POLITICIZED COMMUNAL GROUPS (PCG)

The main requirement of the Rohingyas is to be accepted by the government, fully and equally. They want to enjoy their rights as citizens. However, these needs have not been met by the government. The rejection came

from the government as well as from the majority Arakanese Buddhist itself. There are two efforts that Rohingyas do in order to get their needs be fulfilled by government; the first is focuses on the internal parties of Myanmar; the Rohingyas are trying to consolidate their will on the community in Rakhine and the government. The other way is to gain support from the international community to raise awareness of human rights violation towards Rohingyas.

It can be inferred the first way meet failure by analyzed some aspects. Firstly, the Rohingyas are not able to reach out to Muslims in Myanmar because of the Muslim diversity in Myanmar. Inability to embrace Muslims community cause Muslims in Myanmar has no same vision or opinion towards Rohingyas. It hinders the Rohingyas because they cannot achieve the political support they need from Muslims. In the other side, one of Rohingya's organisation support, Arakan Rohingya National Organization or ARNO, also have supported the opposition, by campaigning as anti-junta supporters and condemned crimes against humanity. They do so as a statement that they are one position with the opposition party. Eventually, this organization hopes they will get support from the opposition. They even make Aung San Suu Kyi as the icon of inspiration for the Rohingyas. However, it is also failed, as Suu Kyi herself did not approve Rohingyas demands. Opposition movement, other minorities, and other rebel movements only propose the condition that the government treat them well and fulfill their basic human rights, but there is no apparent support for recognition of Rohingyas as the citizen of the Myanmar.

The second way—to gain international attention towards Rohingya—is more efficient than the first one. The Rohingyas and Myanmar Muslims have been accepted by Islamic countries and organizations which give the mission of diplomatic and economic sanctions against Myanmar. In addition, after the Rakhine military operations in 1991, Malaysia, Indonesia, and Brunei criticized the policy of the Burmese government. Organization of Islamic Conference (OIC) also issued a statement that the military regime must stop persecuting the Rohingyas. Some countries even sent humanitarian aid to the Rohingyas. However, because of the criticism of the Muslims organization and states, the military junta does not believe in Rohingyas and suspect them as agents of the Islamic countries movement.

According to Singh, the first Rohingyas organizations emerged in Myanmar was from mujahidin movement of the 1940s and 1950s (39). The Mujahid Party was the first organization in Myanmar, in northwestern Arakan in April 1947, led by Jafar Husain Kawal. This political party has a purpose based on its predecessor organization, the North Arakan Muslim League, which is to support irredentism of Arakan into East Pakistan.

In the first place, organizations who identify itself as Rohingyas was Rohingyas Independence Force (RIF), founded in March 26, 1963 by Muh. Habib Jafar. Later in the 1970s, there were some groups that claim being representation of the Rohingyas. However, most of these organizations vanished right away, and the influence of their activities was also slight.

As other ethnocentric groups, Rohingyas organizations mostly have rebellion background. Rohingyas organizations that actively emerge in the current time is Arakan Rohingya National Organization (ARNO), and the Rohingya Solidarity Organization (RSO). ARNO has affirmed that they have no relations with terrorist and extremist activity, but this organization still accused has engaged with the regional terrorist group. RSO also allegedly associated with the Islamic extremist movement. That group claimed receives training and equipment from abroad and actively involved in providing training and logistics such as armed weapons and tools of communication, in order to create an Islamic state in Arakan.

It is rather difficult to examine whether a new ethnic-based political group raised in Myanmar is the new name of the former group, a fraction of the group or organization that is utterly new. RIF metamorphosed into Rohingyas Patriotic Front (RPF) in 1974, whose aims is establishing an Islamic state. The group eventually split into several factions in the early 1980s when Much. Yusuf, one of the member RPF disengaged and formed the RSO, which known as the most radical organization and always associated with the existence of extremist organizations in South Asia.

Other members of the RPF and RSO—who are more moderate than others—established ARIF in 1986, led by Nurul Islam. ARIF is a fairly small group and unarmed, and in 1995; this organization joined into RSO to form the Rohingyas National Alliance (RNA), which reorganized in 1999 to Arakan Rohingyas National Organization (ARNO), which then re-split into three factions in the in 2000.

Most of the organizations in the Rohingyas do not want to be linked to terrorist groups or extremist in any form. The Rohingyas organizations often get funding from the Middle East, South Asia, and Southeast Asia, who also support a pan-Islamic agenda.

Table 1: History of the Establishment of organizations in Myanmar.
Source: adapted from Singh (p.50)

1946	North Arakan Muslim League; Organization of Burma Muslim Mujahid established Party of Arakan.
1947	Mujahideen founded by Jami-all Ulema-e Islam to unite eastern Arakan with Pakistan
1963	Rohingya Independence Force (RIF)
1971	Rohingya Liberation Party
1974	Rohingya Patriotic Front
1980	Rohingya Solidarity Organization (RSO)
1986	Arakan Rohingya Islamic Front (ARIF)
1998	ARIF and Rohingyas National Council joined together to form the Arakan Rohingyas National Organization (ARNO) with a military wing called Rohingyas National Army
2012	RSO, ARNO, and the Arakan People's Freedom Party joined to form the Arakan Rohingya Union; Jamaatul Arakan, a branch of Bangladesh Jamaatul Mujahideen Bangladesh, was formed.

After September 11, 2001, Myanmar's military and media accused ARNO and RSO as a branch of terrorist organizations, but ARNO itself denied the accusation. In reality, many Rohingyas have been used to fight the extremists and sent to Afghanistan and other regions. Rohingyas' instability makes it easier for the community to perform radicalization inside and outside of Myanmar.

ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

Examining Myanmar deeply as Gurr stated above, as democracy autocracy state, the rise of ethnic Rohingyas insurgent movement was reasonable. As newly independent state, Burma's development was essential in many sectors. When the development gives more access of resources for the majority, or in this case the Buddhist community, in the other side, there are minority groups who are oppressed because they do not have access to the resources, including Rohingyas.

If compared to the Buddhists majority, regarding the distinctive identity of the Rohingyas, with its different race and religion—governments and communities are easy to discriminate them in many ways. This discriminatory, even cruelly treatment, with a sense of communal disappointment against the Myanmar government, making their ethnic bonds became stronger. This

vengeance, combined with the existence of organizations as their channel for the Rohingyas to commit political movement, including protest and rebellion. In the end, radicalization became the Rohingya's choice.

Historically beliefs that Rohingyas are entitled to live in Rakhine state, though in fact, they are not citizens of any country. This condition initiates them to identify themselves as ethnic Rohingyas, or as part the group they joined. That consciousness drives justification for the Rohingyas to be loyal to the organization. Not surprisingly, the Rohingyas then did activities that related to terrorist activities.

The limited access to the Rohingyas has made them living in depressed conditions. Many of them are living in refugee camps, with less feasible conditions. Poverty eventually causes the children have no access to education, making the Rohingyas quickly recruited extremist organization. Moreover, because they marginalized in various countries, the education they get is often provided by faith-based organizations. The limitation they get causes the Rohingyas youth, wherever they are, are very vulnerable especially towards faith-based education that sometimes infiltrated by extremist doctrine and ideology.

On the other hand, the humanitarian factors support and assistance from outside parties increase the Rohingyas' confidence to fight back. The activities undertaken by both organizations, such as ARIF and RSO, keep going due to the aid of other states. These aids can be used for so many needs, like to buy weapons for the militants.

According to Fan and Saleem, conflict between Arakanese and Rohingya in Myanmar's Rakhine state in 2012 has raised anxieties of growing radicalization and regional instability. Nowadays, the world cannot deny or neglect their attention for the Rohingyas' problem that has spread significantly throughout the Muslim community over the countries. The initiative and movement from a diverse range of Muslim groups in showing their solidarity towards Rohingyas can contribute positive and negative impacts to this internal conflict in Myanmar. The miscalculation to perceive this ethnic-racial conflict as an assault on Islam cannot be put down, especially among the Muslim community. In addition, the spill-over effect of this ethnic-racial conflict may threat the peace and security issue maintained in Southeast Asia region. Especially, Buddha and Islam are two largest religion in this area; Southeast Asia has 618 million in population, which consists of 42% or 240 million Muslims and 40% of them (around 150 - 190 million) are Buddhists. Buddhism has taken its root in Southeast Asia from the seventh - eleventh centuries, in the other hand, Islam came to Southeast Asia later on the 12th-15th centuries (Yusuf, 2014).

The economic factors may drive the radicalization in some of the Rohingya organizations, rather than adherence factor to the religion itself. As known, the

Rohingyas are paid if they join the group. RSO is one of the organizations that is believed recruiting many Rohingyas. The Rohingyas was given the most dangerous tasks in the battlefield, for instance, clearing mines. Bertil Lintner in Asia Times on 2002 mentioned, the recruited Rohingya were being paid 30,000 Bangladeshi taka (US\$ 525) on joining and then 10,000 taka per month (\$175). RSO will pay the families of recruited Rohingya, which killed in action with the offering of 100,000 taka (\$1,750).

Although the Rohingyas group often described as terrorists, but actually, there is some Buddhists extremist movement in Myanmar that contributed to this horizontal conflict in the community. One of them is 969 movements, led by Buddhist monk, Wirathu. The 969 movement originated from Buddha itself—9 individual attributes of the Buddha; six unique attributes of his Dhamma or teachings; and nine special characteristics of Buddhists monks.' Wirathu is the monk that against Rohingya and also Muslim. Even he is described as 'Burmese bin Laden,' as promoting violence against Buddha's enemy, or in this case, Muslims. This condition holds this long lasting-conflict within both parties is inevitable (Adipura).

As it goes on, in line with Reilly described before about the inseparable relationship between internal conflicts with the international level, the Rohingyas issue is changing rapidly, from ethnic-racial into ethnic-religious issues. The community, inside and outside Myanmar, perceive this conflict as the representation of Islam versus Buddhism. In Myanmar, besides the horizontal conflict in 2012, Fan and Saleem also mentioned the threats which spread into the humanitarian workers, deteriorating the suffering of Rohingya refugees. What has occurred in Burma, eventually may lead to 'spill-over effect' in neighboring countries, in particular Southeast Asia region. Open violence, which became tangible riot and even bombing, between Muslims and Buddhists, has increased. Outside Myanmar, like in Indonesia, attack on Buddhist temples and threats over Myanmar Embassy was subjected to show protest against Myanmar's policy ("Densus 88...", "Teroris Ciputat..."). Many protests were organized in Sulawesi against the attacks and many Buddhist temples targeted (Fan and Saleem).

The violent action also spreads toward several Buddhist home and temples in Bangladesh. At least eleven Buddhist temples in Cox's Bazaar region burned and seven other temples destroyed (Fan and Saleem, "Pembakaran Kuil Buddha..."). In India, eight low-explosion bombs were placed in the Maha Bodhi temple in Bihar state, exploded on 7 July 2013, and wounding two monks. The terror was the first attack on Buddhists in India and suspected a protest against the conflict in Myanmar ("Pemboman Kuil Budha India..."). Similar protests also took place in Thailand and Colombo, Sri Lanka.

In particular, in Indonesia and Malaysia, a number of Rohingya advocacy groups or organizations raised to defend Rohingyas. In Indonesia, the organizations like *Nahdatul Ulama*, *Muhammadiyah*, *Hizbut Tahrir*, and *Jemaah Anshorut Tauhid*, asked Myanmar's government to stop persecuting Rohingyas Muslim. Radical groups such as the *Front Pembela Islam*, *Hizbut Tahrir* and *Jamaah Anshorut Tauhid* in Indonesia claimed they are ready to go and fight in the name of 'jihad' for the Rohingyas (115-17).

When it comes questioning about the role and involvement of ASEAN as one of the most influential organizations in the region to resolve the conflict in Myanmar. But ASEAN with its principle 'non-interference', can not interfere in the Rohingyas issue, as it is an internal affair of Myanmar that should not be interfered with. ASEAN member-states was agreed not to let their domestic affairs interfered with external parties. Yet as developing country with a high diversity, the countries in this region are very vulnerable to internal conflict. Arnold and Parks in Asia Foundation have emphasized the notion about the relationship between internal conflicts and non-interference. According to them, the countries with the history of internal conflicts tend to be the active supporters of non-interference principle, and there is a little possibility that they will support intervention towards sovereign state, in order to maintain the security or human rights. This non-intervention norm has been prevalent, especially in the end of the Cold War. Moreover, southeast Asia now has developed rapidly, and their government are very confident to refuse the external pressure to overcome the conflict. However, Arnold and Parks also mentioned about the limitation of this high tradition towards Asia's roles into global level, especially in security. It makes Asia's country less-participated and limited in global security.

The call for ASEAN to involve in the conflict resolution has increased especially since this issue has become a transnational issue as mentioned earlier. The involvement of ASEAN also is a game of chance for the organization's credibility. Although ASEAN has tried to invite Myanmar in dialogue, Myanmar repeatedly declined the invitation because the Rohingyas issue is the internal affairs (Wahidah 51). However the development of this transnational issue somehow make the countries in Southeast Asia finally make some initiative, such as when Indonesia requested assistance with UNHCR to take care of stranded Rohingya refugees in Indonesia. Or like Thailand, that provides protection to the Rohingya refugees.

The latest progress in Myanmar was the establishment of 2014 national census that recorded the Rohingyas as part of the country, unless they call themselves as 'Bengali' instead of 'Rohingya'. The establishment of this first census that funded by UN in the last 30 years was controversial. The census only focused counting 135 recognized ethnic groups, minus 1.2 million people from

several ethnic groups in conflict areas, such as Northern Rakhine, Kachin and Kayin. The day before the counting begins, presidential spokesman Ye Htut, prohibited the use of the word 'Rohingya'. For those who claim themselves as Rohingya would not be counted in the national census. The government identified them as Bengali, as if calling Rohingya as illegal immigrants who came from Bangladesh though Rohingya have lived for centuries in the country. It means, Myanmar's government indirectly did not recognize this ethnic existence in the country. Quoted from Reuters, the Minister for Immigration and Population U Khin Yi, announced that, the results of census reach 51.4 million, which is lower than 10 million people estimated (Alamsyah). The government also failed to do its duty from UN to make the classification of several ethnicities, including Rohingya in Rakhine.

CONCLUSION

Conflict in Myanmar should be a lesson for other nation-state, especially in Southeast Asia, not to let the ethnic conflict in the countries protracted. Moreover, the countries in Southeast Asia are very diverse in terms of racial identity, culture, religion, and language, so the region is very vulnerable to internal conflicts. Amnesty International stated that, the poor condition of human rights in one country have direct consequences for neighboring countries (qtd. in Ramcharan 76). So the conflict in one state, especially the gross violation of human rights, must be a shared responsibility at the regional or international level. In addition, the more unstable a country, the more also the rights of every citizen are neglected. This neglect, whether intentional or not, will gradually lead to new problems come to the surface. Moreover, if not prevented early, it will cause prolonged loss for both the state government and also the people who live under the region.

In addressing the conflict in Myanmar, ASEAN should take part in helping Myanmar. Primarily because this Rohingyas problem had become a regional problem that needs collective cooperation, not just relying on 'ASEAN Way' which means quiet diplomacy and solving the problem in bilateral way or 'behind the scenes' (Ramcharan 60). On the other hand, it would be a strategic decision if ASEAN could also invite other parties, such as Bangladesh, as one of the central actors in this conflict. In terms of the Rohingyas refugees, the nation-states in this region may ask the favor of UNHCR. This conflict required the thorough conflict-resolution, before the conflict is too complex to resolve.

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FOSTERING ASEAN REGIONAL MECHANISM ON YOUTH PROMOTION

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FOSTERING ASEAN REGIONAL MECHANISM ON YOUTH PROMOTION

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Abstract

Youth are recognized as a key driver in today global affairs. Potential youth are expected by their own society to be the future leaders in controlling the direction of political, economic, and socio-cultural issues both in regional and national level. This article will firstly address the importance of youth in fostering the ASEAN Community as well as ASEAN Connectivity. Secondly, it will examine the current issues related to youth in order to identify the area of integration in the near future. It will also investigate the existing regional and national mechanism on youth promotion to see on how the governments deal with the youth matters, for example, some countries set the Ministry of Youth with sports or education but some work separately. This paper will try to collect the latest number of youth organizations across the region. Finally, it will analyze the feasibility of fostering the ASEAN regional mechanism on youth promotion to recommend an appropriate form to enhance the role of youth in building the ASEAN Community.

Keywords: Youth, Promotion, ASEAN Community, Regional mechanism

Introduction

As the ASEAN Leaders were committed to establish a regional grouping entitled “The Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN)” forty seven years ago, future of regional governance as well as regional institution has been widely discussed from that day. In 2003, ASEAN Leaders signed the Declaration of ASEAN Concord II (Bali Concord II) as a strong commitment to build the ASEAN Community by 2020. This attempt was accelerated by Cebu Declaration in 2007. It aimed to achieve the Community Building by 2015.

A very important result of Bali Concord II is the establishment of three pillars of ASEAN which are ASEAN Political-Security Community (APSC); ASEAN Economic Community (AEC); and ASEAN Socio-Cultural Community (ASCC). These pillars lay the groundwork for ASEAN countries to work together in order to enhance mutual understanding and map out a common future. Therefore, the question on what, why, and how ASEAN will work together has become a point of discussion until now.

This paper aims to emphasize the role of youth as a key driver of the ASEAN Community and Connectivity. It will draw on the importance of youth in line with the Community. Next, the current status of regional and national mechanism will be examined in order to set a fundamental base of ASEAN regional mechanism on youth promotion. This paper will lastly recommend some policy directions to build on the regional governance which is relevant to the national mechanism on youth promotion.

ASEAN Youth: Key Driver of the Community Building

Youth are formally recognized for several ways. One is to define youth as a key driver in building the community or society. They are expected to be future leaders who bring changes to their own society. In this part, the role of youth in fostering three pillars of ASEAN will be discussed in order to provide the overview before going through the current status of regional and national mechanism on youth promotion. The analysis in this part will be drawn under the context of ASEAN 2030.

A research entitled “ASEAN 2030: Toward a Borderless Economic Community” (ADB, 2012) came up with the idea of “RICH ASEAN”. RICH derives from Resilience, Inclusiveness, Competitiveness, and Harmony. This research identified 2030 four key development challenges which rely on how to (i) manage macroeconomic and financial stability, (ii) promote economic convergence and equitable growth, (iii) forge a competitive and innovative region, and (iv) nurture natural resources and sustain the environment.

To achieve the aspirations for RICH ASEAN, this research identified four enabling factors which are to (i) broaden and deepen financial markets, (ii) harness human capital, (iii) build seamless connectivity, and (iv) strengthen governance (ADB, 2012). Following these aspirations, youth can play an important role as an excellent human capital and the linkages to build seamless connectivity. It is envisaged that a number of ASEAN population will increase over 700 million by 2030.

An increase in number of ASEAN population will affect regional economic growth. Youth will be considered as manpower and factors of production. Both entrepreneurs and skilled labors can be the title of youth in economic system. The ASEAN Economic Community (AEC) Blueprint reinforces free flow of eight skilled labors cover architect, engineer, explorer, doctor, nurse, dentist, accountant, and tourism professionals. ICT people are noted to be the next category for liberalization.

In case of Thailand, ITD (2012) stated that there will be opportunities and challenges faced by a growing generation as the Mutual Recognition Agreements (MRAs) provides basic requirements for those who want to be recognized under ASEAN's standard. It will be a great opportunity for people who have multi-functional skills, especially, those who can use efficient English to communicate. While some professionals such as tourism can flow freely without the MRAs due to the price mechanism.

Apart from the economic dimension on the essence of youth, to build seamless connectivity is another key in attaining 2030 aspirations. The Master Plan on ASEAN Connectivity (2009) draws on three main keys consisting of logistics connectivity, institutional connectivity, and people-to-people connectivity. The last one, people-to-people connectivity is a main element in building a community. It emphasizes on three points; education, culture, and tourism.

Education has been very important global issues in improving the capability of human resources. The ASEAN University Network (AUN) established in order to promote 'free flow' of educational people, particularly scholars and students by arranging the exchange programs, recruiting ASEAN students to attend the camp on specific issues, promoting quality assurances and credit transfer, etc. These educational innovations have developed along with the higher education in each country.

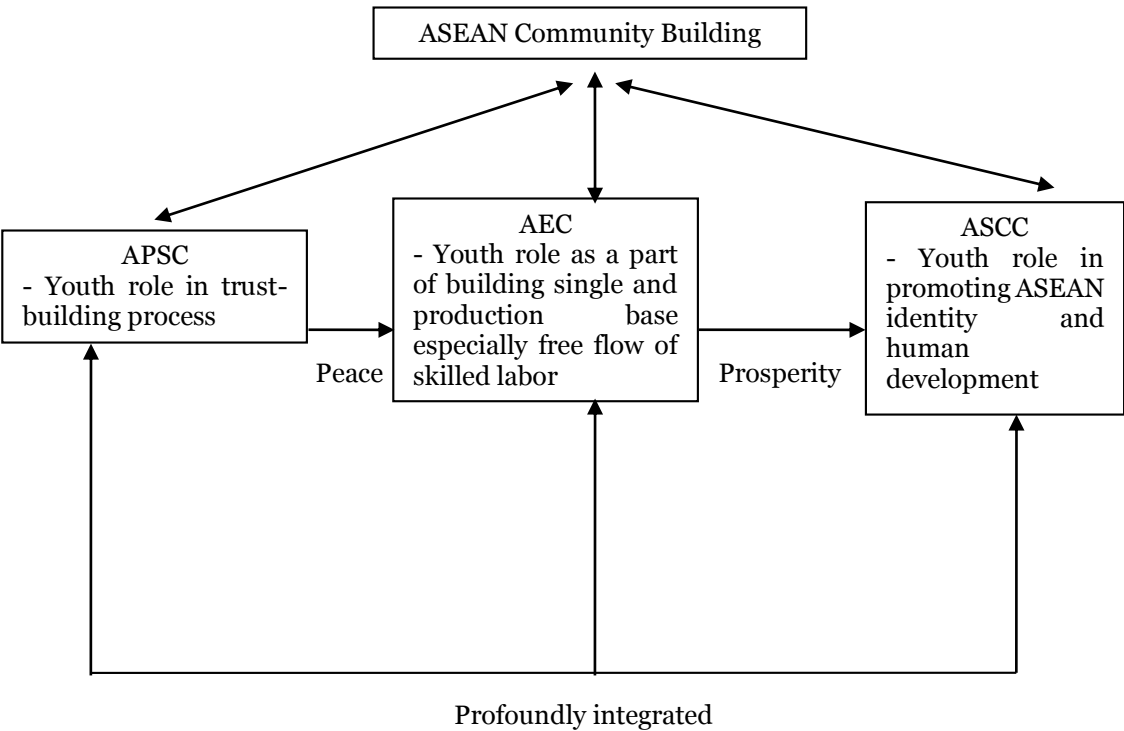
While staying in each country as an exchange student, ASEAN youth will be engaged with the real society they undergo even a week or monthly exchange program. ASEAN Studies Center, Chulalongkorn University's activities have proven that the result of the youth exchange program has gone further the familiarity or network of the participants. It became a 'hub' for discussing the

regional and national issues through workshops and discussions with the ASEAN friends and professors.

Seeing from political-security dimension, ASEAN youth will be key factors in trust-building process. As the Association of Southeast Asian Nations first established under the friendship among the founding fathers, ASEAN has also set informal norms namely the “ASEAN Way” comprising (i) the principle of non-interference, (ii) face-saving behavior, (iii) consultations, (iv) informality, and (v) the spirit of working together (Shimada, 2013). These conventions have been informally accepted as regional norms to the present.

To sum up, ASEAN youth will play a key role in fostering the community building through several dimensions; political-security, economic, and socio-cultural. Even youth are not directly noted that in each community blueprint, it is very important to realize that youth are the future mechanism under the community building and connectivity, particularly people-to-people connectivity. The role of youth in linking three pillars can be concluded as following figure.

Figure 1: ASEAN Youth: Key Driver of the Community Building
Source: Author’s Compilation



Current Status of Regional and National Mechanism on Youth Promotion

ASEAN has worked in the form of inter-governmental organization from its inception in 1967. This kind of organization leads to the policy coordination rather than policy integration which is different from the European Union. It is important to note that the ASEAN Charter has bestowed a comprehensive view of coordination. It does not specify or mention about any idea and policy implementation which is relevant to youth promotion but is has been included in the ASCC Blueprint.

The ASCC Blueprint identifies some actions in order to promote ASEAN youth development under the topic A.1. Advancing and prioritizing education such as working towards the establishment of an ASEAN Youth Programme Fund to fund the various youth projects and activities in ASEAN, establish platforms for networking and sharing of best practices on ASEAN children and youth development strategies and tools. These ideas are very important to raise awareness on youth promotion across the region.

The Mid-term Review of the ASEAN Socio-Cultural Community Blueprint (2009-2015) provides some viewpoints on youth issues. It notes that the literacy rate of youth population have been increased both ASEAN-6 and CLMV countries (ASEAN Secretariat, 2014). It also mentioned that the ASEAN Youth Programme Fund as well as Singapore-ASEAN Youth Fund has been implemented in order to support regional and national activities on youth promotion such as ASEAN youth exchange programs.

In this part, current status of regional and national mechanism on youth promotion will be investigated in order to identify the areas of policy coordination among ASEAN member countries. It will firstly deal with the regional body and related documents to discuss where do the ASEAN stand. This point will be elaborated in line with national mechanism of each member country to see on how does it work and how would it be developed after the 2015 achievement.

Figure 2: The linkages of important ASEAN meetings on youth promotion

Source: Author's Compilation

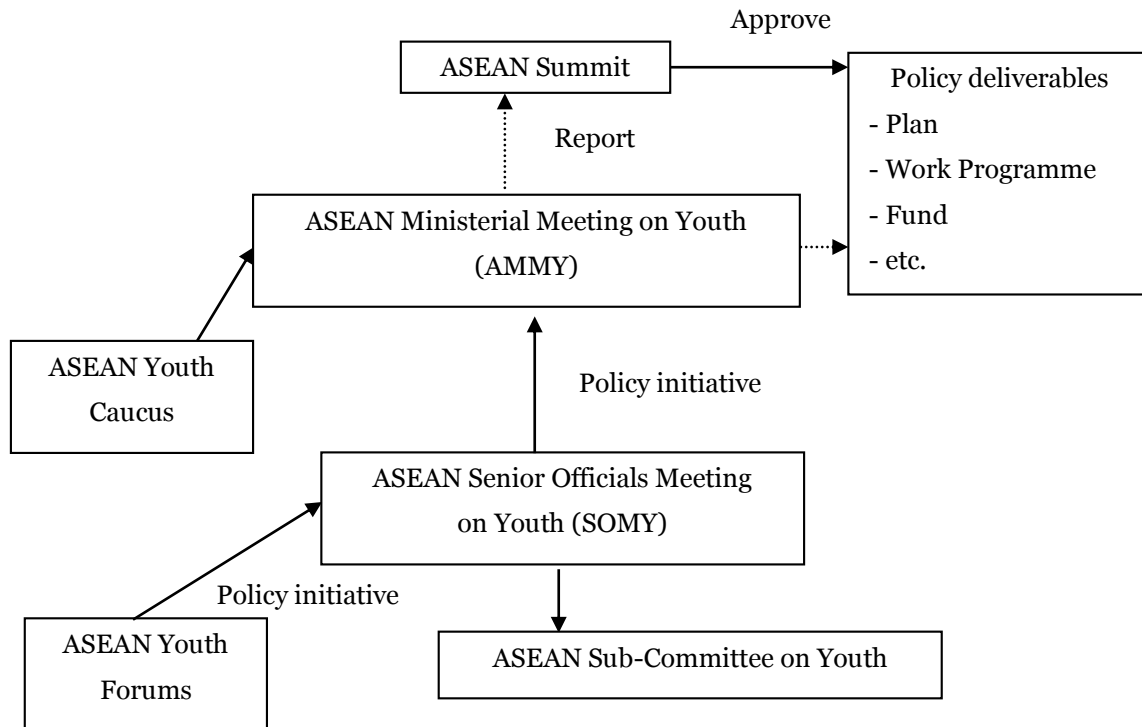


Figure 2 depicts the linkages of important ASEAN meetings on youth promotion. The ASEAN Ministerial Meeting on Youth (AMMY) as well as the ASEAN Senior Officials Meeting on Youth (SOMY) has played a key role in initiating and formulating youth policy in ASEAN. SOMY has many sub-committees working on specific issues assigned by the AMMY or SOMY. The results of the AMMY and SOMY will be reported to the ASEAN Summit in order to approve and deliver to the society.

ASEAN Youth Caucus and Forums are organized in parallel with the ASEAN official meetings. They will be considered as an input of policy initiative to the AMMY and SOMY. Several issues such as education, environment, employment, etc. will be addressed and disseminated among the representatives from ASEAN member countries. The results will also be presented to the ministerial meetings. Youth representatives will have a chance to meet the real policymakers and reflect their valuable voice. Until now, the voice of youth has been formally recognized as sound of future and new generation.

It is also essential to pay attention to the related documents which lay the groundwork and hallmark to the regional mechanism on youth promotion. The Declaration of Principles to Strengthening ASEAN Collaboration on Youth signed in Bangkok, on 24th June 1983 is marked as the first documents mentioning the importance of youth participation to the community building and sustainable development. The documents concerning youth promotion and its areas of cooperation are outlined as follows:

Table 1: Addressed Issues in the regional documents

Source: ASEAN Secretariat's Official Website including the author's analysis

Documents	Addressed Issues					
	Education	Employment & Entrepreneurship	Environment	Participation & Awareness	Health Issues	ICT
1. Declaration of Principles to Strengthening ASEAN Collaboration on Youth (Bangkok, 24 th June 1983)	✓ (both national and regional levels)	✓		✓ (including the national and regional non-governmental youth organizations)		
2. Kuala Lumpur Agenda on ASEAN Youth Development (Kuala Lumpur, 17 th November 1997)		✓		✓ (addressed directly to ASEAN awareness and cultural issues)		
3. Yangon 2000 Declaration on Preparing ASEAN Youth for the Challenges of Globalisation (Yangon, 2 nd November 2000)	✓			✓ (volunteerism and social entrepreneurship)	✓ (drugs, HIV/AIDS)	✓ (firstly addressed)
4. Manila Declaration on Strengthening Participation in Sustainable Youth Employment (Manila, 3 th – 4 th September 2003)	✓ (partnerships with educational institutions)	✓ (sustainable employment firstly addressed including network of young entrepreneurs, ASEAN youth and SMEs)		✓		

Table 1 provides the addressed issues in the regional documents. Principally, these documents pointed out the overview of regional and national development at the meeting time. It is interesting that the environmental-related

issues have never been raised in these four documents. While some important matters like health issues was addressed once at Yangon in 2000. ICT was also firstly addressed at that meeting. These are main issues seen by the ASEAN leaders and policymakers.

Concerning the active participation of youth and awareness, volunteerism and social responsibilities activities are also issued as a driver in preparing ASEAN youth to be ready for the 21st Century's challenges. Access to education has been ensured as a tool for developing human capital. Additionally, the cultural issues and value are some essential points mentioned in these documents. It is noted that cultural learning activities will enhance mutual understanding among ASEAN youth.

Apart from the abovementioned formal documents, the joint press statements of the AMMY were released. The ASEAN leaders stressed that the youth empowerment to pursue the ongoing peace, progress, and prosperity of the region. To attain that goal, it requires the active participation of youth in making the community works and preparing to meet the socio-economic challenges in the near future. However, institutional capacity building will be another key for the success in policy coordination in ASEAN.

At the national level, there are different kinds of national mechanism on youth promotion. National youth focal points comprise the ministries, the office, the national council, the national commission, the union, and the national committee relevant to the country's regime. It is interesting to note that youth issues are incorporated with other related issues such as youth and sports, youth and education, youth and culture. National mechanism on youth promotion in each country is listed below:

Table 2: National focal points on youth promotion

Source: Collected from the official website of each country

Country	National focal point
Brunei Darussalam	Ministry of Culture, Youth and Sports
Cambodia	Ministry of Education, Youth and Sports
Indonesia	Ministry of Youth and Sports
Lao PDR	Lao People's Revolutionary Youth Union
Malaysia	Ministry of Youth and Sports
Myanmar	Ministry of Social Welfare
Philippines	National Youth Commission
Singapore	National Youth Council
Thailand	Office of Welfare Promotion, Protection and Empowerment of Vulnerable Groups (OPP), Ministry of

	Social Development and Human Security
Viet Nam	National Committee on Youth if Viet Nam

Table 2 identifies the national mechanism of youth promotion of each country in ASEAN. According to this table, youth issues are seen as parallel issues with sports, culture, education, and social welfare. In some countries, youth issues are set as the national organization to work together. Anyway, the different kinds of national mechanism are not the obstructions to work as ASEAN. It only defines and prioritizes which kind of youth issues should be firstly addressed.

Regional Mechanism on Youth Promotion: International Experiences

To move forward the ASEAN regional mechanism on youth promotion, it is essential to learn from international experiences. In this part, some distinguished examples will be raised to disseminate the comparisons. Lessons learned and feasibility to apply the examples to ASEAN regional mechanism will be also discussed. The case of European Union, Pacific Community, Latin America, and Africa will be included in the discussion of this part as some of them are emerging.

European Union

Youth-related issues were contained in the Masstricht Treaty in 1993. At first, the regional youth policy in Europe stressed on the specific programs. They had been expanded the scope to the participation, information, and voluntary activities when the White Paper on Youth was adopted in 2001. Education, training, employment, social inclusion and others were included to improve active citizenship of youth in Europe. The European Youth Pact was adopted in 2005 in order to foster the youth policy in the region.

The European Union declared Strategy: Europe 2020 as a new growth model for the region. It mainly focuses on three pattern of growth consisting of smart growth, sustainable growth, and inclusive growth. The relevant areas to the youth are about the improvement of education and training in line with new skills and jobs for labor market. These two initiatives are main flagship programs to help empower youth in European Countries where encountered the euro crisis.

There are supporting organizations concerning youth promotion in Europe under the Council of Europe and Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE) both technical and financial support such as Directorate of Youth and Sport (DYS), European Youth Foundation (EYF), Solidarity Fund for Youth Mobility (SFYM), European Network of Youth Centers (ENYC), European Youth Information and Counseling Agency (ERYICA), OSCE Youth Forum, etc.

Pacific Community

Secretariat of the Pacific Community (SPC) was established in 1947. It has provided technical assistance, policy advice, training, and research services to 22 Pacific Island countries and territories in some challenging issues such as human development, agriculture, and etc. As noted in its vision, SPC aims to build “a secure and prosperous Pacific Community, whose people are educated and healthy and manage their resources in an economically, environmentally and socially sustainable way (Youthpolicy.org, 2014).”

The Pacific Community has a specific youth strategy. Three main programs have been implemented in order to empower youth: Compendium of National Youth Policies for Pacific Community Members; The Pacific Community Youth Focus; and Pacific Youth Bureau (PYB). SPC’s involvement in youth matters includes the creation of the SPC Human Development Program (HDP) and publications on youth policies. It has a website collecting data related to the implementation of the Pacific Youth Strategy.

To achieve the ultimate goal of the Pacific Youth Strategy, some key legislation has been adopted such as The Commonwealth Plan of Action for Youth Empowerment 2007-2015, Pacific Youth Charter 2006, Youth Visioning for Island living 2005, Pacific Youth Statement on the Pacific Plan 2005, Pacific Youth MDGs Declaration 2005, etc. Most of the legislation has followed the groundwork of active participation, sustainable development, and peace and prosperity.

Latin America

In Latin America, it could be noted that national youth councils are stronger than regional platform on youth issues but they have been considered lack of support. The examples for regional mechanism or platform in Latin America are Caribbean Federation of Youth (CFY), Juventude Latino-Americana pela a Democracia (JULAD). They mainly focus on the active involvement and participation of youth in the process of progressive social change, leadership and capacity building.

Another good example of Latin American regional mechanism is Latin American Youth Forum (FLAJ). It was established in 1993. FLAJ is the representative nongovernmental entity gathering youth organizations and youth movements across the region. It is essential to note that several youth organizations in Latin America and Caribbean could be influenced by political appeal. Most of NGOs youth in this region work for civil society on political and policy issues.

Youth activities in Latin America depend on the foreign assistance. There is cooperation between Latin America and Europe under the thematic program

“investing in people” covering the policy area of health, gender, education, and social development. Apart from this, there are Inter-American Children’s Institute, Organization of American States (OAS), Youth Forum of the Americas, Young Americas Business Trust, Inter-American Development Bank (IDB) on Youth Development and Outreach Program.

Africa

The characteristics of African youth regional mechanisms or organizations are related to several issues on health, disease, gender, and population issues. The African Youth Alliance (AYA) were founded as a collaborative program between the United Nations Population Fund, the Program for Appropriate Technology in Health (PATH), and Pathfinder International to work out on reducing the spread of HIV/AIDS, other sexually transmitted diseases (STDs) and reproductive health.

The pattern of working together in Africa is to partner with other organizations like the governments, nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), community-based and youth-serving groups. To improve a standard of living in Africa, the partnership among the international organizations in collaboration with regional and local organizations is to train young people to be aware of favorable conditions for development and participation of youth in social life.

Regarding youth legislation and organizations in Africa, African Youth Charter was declared in 2006. This charter will provide the comprehensive view on how the African States see youth issues. The problem is that some African states have not signed the charter. However, several student organizations have been gathered to work on specific issues such as African Youth Foundation (AYF), Commonwealth Youth Program (CYP) Africa, and Youth Action International (YAI).

Table 3: The institutions and addressed issues from international experiences

Source: Compiled from Youthpolicy.org including author’s analysis

Areas	Institution	Addressed Issues
European Union	Platforms under the European legal entities	active citizens, employment, labor skills
Pacific Community	Secretariat of the Pacific Community (SPC)	development
Latin America	Issue-oriented informal grouping	political issues, development
Africa	Issue-oriented informal grouping working	health and diseases, gender

	closely with other international organizations	
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Table 3 identifies some characteristics on the institutions and addressed issues of European Union, Pacific Community, Latin America, and Africa. It can be concluded that the main theme of issues on youth promotion is how youth can support sustainable development in the world. In some areas such as Africa and Latin America, they have some prioritized specific issues to work out. Even in European Union, the main focus on the employment and skill development reflects the real economic problem in this area.

Concluding Remarks

This paper has elaborated on the essentiality of youth in building the ASEAN Community in political-security, economic, and socio-cultural point of view. As ASEAN has been emerging to more integrate and connected region, it is important to raise the issues of governance or mechanism on specific issues. Youth promotion is selected as one example to discuss here. It is necessary to examine the current status of regional and national mechanism and learn from international experiences how do they work on youth issues.

Two main points as a conclusion of the paper are as follows:

1. The characteristic of ASEAN institution
ASEAN has been itself formed as an intergovernmental body to work together on several issues. The ASEAN Ministerial Meeting on Youth or AMMY has been set to arrange every two years while the areas of cooperation on youth promotion are under the ASCC Blueprint which is wide, vast, and incorporated to other issues. Also, the stakeholders of youth promotion consist of the public sector, private sector, civil society, academic institutions, and youth themselves. Are AMMY and SOMY enough to deal with several issues regarding youth promotion?
2. The nature of youth issues and the suggestions
As Table 2 pointed out, national mechanism in ASEAN member countries is diverse. It covers culture, sports, social development, and education while some of them are considered political and ideological. Youth promotion seemingly has several actions to take. The suggestion is that ASEAN should set issue-oriented sub-committee on youth which includes the policymaker, the private sector, the academicians, civil society, and youth themselves to work together.

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**RETHINKING IDENTITY THROUGH THE
MUSEUM REPRESENTATION OF SOUTH EAST
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SANDY SUSENO

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Abstract

Museums become the important part of cultural heritage utilization. Through the museum, cultural heritage is not only to preserve, but also to inform to the public or visitor. In this case, the position of the museums becomes very important in the representation of the collection to the visitors. The representation will form a new mindset of the visitors to the community who have the culture. In representing the collection, museum will use the interpretation which based on their research evidence, so its worth to inform to the visitor or public. However, the interpretation can not be separated from their conceptual thinking. The interpretation is a term to describe how the concept of the communicated and informed their research, activity, and collection to the public. The interpretation always has been misunderstood as a one-way communication, because the visitor or public think the object where displayed in the museum is unfamiliar to them and they don't need to be translated. While on the other hand, the museum in the 21st century should be focused on two-way communication between the museum and the visitor, the museum and the community, the museum and the public (Lord & Lord, 1997). In the developed countries the museum has been used as the learning institution to their communities to study the developing countries. The example is the Permanent Exhibition of Southeast Asia in the Tropenmuseum, Amsterdam. Therefore, we need to re-think, criticize, and respond to representations of Southeast Asia at the museum in Europe.

Keywords: Museums, Heritage, Representation, Identity

Introduction

I write this paper based on the research in the Tropenmuseum, Amsterdam. Actually, the subject of my thesis is about the representation of Indonesia in Southeast Asia Exhibition "Ooswaart! Kunst, Kultuur, and Kolonialism". However, in this paper i focus more on how Tropenmuseum represents Southeast Asia on their permanent exhibition "Ooswaart! Kunst, Kultuur, and Kolonialism". Tropenmuseum is a museum that originally intended only to introduce the Dutch colonial territory. Thus, Indonesia became a source of the largest collection in the Tropenmuseum.

Tropenmuseum originally located in Haarlem. The museums moved to Amsterdam because of the new collection from the colonies became more and more. At the time of Indonesian independence, Tropenmuseum should change their study of colonial museum which introduces the Dutch colony. Then, it changes to be a museum for learning The Netherland Indie. After the Dutch recognized Indonesian, the museum appears political pressure and academics, to improvement the bilateral relations between Indonesia and the Netherlands. Tropenmuseum retransform into a museum who studied countries in the tropical region. In its development until now Tropenmuseum further expand its to study in Africa, Asia, America, and also the contemporary culture of Tropical areas. Tropenmuseum uses the exhibition as a medium to provide information to visitors about the cultures in the tropical region.

One of the interesting parts of the exhibition in the Tropenmuseum is Southeast Asia "Ooswaarts! Kunst, Kultuur, and Kolonialism". In this section their want to represent Southeast Asian culture to the visitors through Southeast Asia collection they have. In this paper, I start from the previous interpretation about Southeast Asia which is conducted by the Tropenmuseum. Then brings the reader to participate to, understanding, critize and the end, reader can get another conclusion in addition i suggest from this paper.

Journey to the East, "Ooswaarts! Kuunst, Kultuur, & Kolonialism"

"Ooswaarts! Kuunts, Kultuur, and Kolonialism "is the name given to the exhibition of Southeast Asia, East Indies, Papua New Guinea, and India. The name was given because the museum wants to tell how the Dutch for 400 years has been focused to study the eastern region. Tropenmuseum which was originally a colonial museum also can not escape the history of colonialism in the past. Through a collection of art, culture, and colonialism, Tropenmuseum tried to relate the one to the other areas in the East Region so the visitors will eventually get a comprehensive picture of the cultural similarities and difference in the East (see Tropenmuseum, Label of Journey to The East Exhibition). Through the story

presented by the museum, it means the museum wants to try represent the culture through their collections. But in this paper we will not discuss the overall representation in the exhibition "Ooswaarts! Kunst, Kultuur & Kolonialisme". We just discuss about the South East Asia section.

The name of South East Asia section is "Southeast Asia: Spiritual Culture". In this section, Tropenmuseum wants to give an idea about culture that stretches South East Asia. The cultural exchanges and cultural heritage in these regions make the countries in Southeast Asia very near and connected. But at the time, ancient and contemporary objects in this region revealed a great cultural diversity of each region. Later, merchants and monks from India are bringing their religion and culture to Southeast Asia. The first one is Hindu, then Buddhist the next. Since the 11th century Islam followed and quickly emerged as the dominant religion. Along with the arrival of the Europeans in the 16th century, Christianity also spread in Southeast Asia. This new religion-religion accommodates different habits of traditional cultures in various places at that time. In some cases only a few parts of the culture adapted by religion, but there are also religion and traditional culture entirely fused (see Tropenmuseum, Label of South East Asia Exhibition).

These exhibition sections divided into four themes: the symbols, traditional culture, new ideas, and identities. The first theme is about symbols. In this theme, Tropenmuseum wants to tell you how the 4 ancient symbols found in Southeast Asia from the beginning until now. That symbol became the core of the similarities and differences in the cultures of South East Asia. The symbols were originally used in traditional life then used in the new religion. Using traditional symbols in the new religion allows that's symbols survive and grow along with the changes of social order in society. Ancient motifs such as dragons or snakes, birds, flowers and the squat acquire have a new meaning in a society. From that, we can see the difference and similarity of one culture, one country, one period to another (see Tropenmuseum, Label of Symbol).

One of the symbols are spread almost all over Southeast Asia is a figure of the Snake. The snake is a cosmic symbol of the ocean and fertility. In traditional cultures in Southeast Asia, snakes are also given names such as names originating from India, *Naga* (Dragon). This reflects the existing cultural contact with Hindu culture. In Southeast Asia many ancient snake symbols combined with the dragons that come from China. These are evident from the number of objects and are also known in religion as reflected in the architecture used. In Vietnam, this figure comes from China has been very clearly. Unlike in Borneo the figures are known to form a more stylish / flexible (see Tropenmuseum, Label of Dragon).

The next symbol is also found in parts of Southeast Asia is flowers. Flower is a symbol of fertility in South East Asia. The shape, color and fragrance of all kind

have a different connection in every religion. For the Hindu and Buddhist religion, lotus is a symbol of purity and the seat of the gods. For java, red roses represent women, while white roses for men. In Islam gravestones have floral engraving. A very special meaning is given to the tree-filled flower or commonly called the tree of life. Growing branches reach to heaven, but the tree is standing in the world, while its roots reach to the bottom of the world. The tree represents the cosmic whole, the paradise, the world, bottom of the earth (oceans) (see Tropenmuseum, Label of Flowers).

Birds have become a symbol of the social order in every culture in Southeast Asia. Bird is a symbol of the upper world, they are associated with the masculine and the sun, or they are also regarded as a messenger of God. The story of creation said hornbills responsible for the creation. Garuda is a mystical bird for god visnu. Since the entry of Hindu influence, the bird has had a very big role in south East Asia. The form of a bird that is used is also changing half-bird, half-man who will eat, sometimes also some types of pigeons. Garuda become Indonesia's country symbol and the logo airline in Thailand (see Tropenmuseum, Label of Birds).

At the present time squat figure may be very difficult to see in South East Asia. However, this fact can not remove a variety of findings that explaining that figure in the Past into something used to spread in South East Asia. The statue, talisman and objects in the form of squatting people is found in several places in Southeast Asia. The object is usually should not dirty avoided as much as possible contact with the ground, the squat shape with a flat bottom is usually placed as usual put furniture. Figure squatting man reflects their ancestors. Ancestors protect the public from crime and ensure the continuity, security, and prosperity. That figure disappeared with the arrival of religion in South East Asia. In the Hindu and Buddhist religions, god is shown sitting with crossed legs. In Islam, figure of the human form become a controversy (see Tropenmuseum, Label of Squatting Man).



Dish With Lotus Ornament
Palembang, Indonesia, Early 20th
Collection of Flower
Picture by: Sandy Suseno



Bell With Wooden Striker
Hanoi, Vietnam Early 20th
Collection of Dragon
Picture by: Sandy Suseno



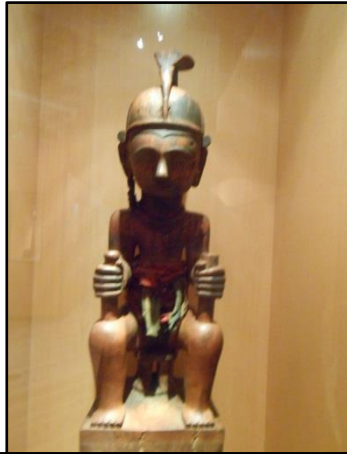
Skull With Ancestor Figures
Luzon, Philipines
Collection of Suaqrtting Man
Picture by: Sandy Suseno



Puppet of Sun Eagle Galon
Myanmar, Early 20th
Collection of Bird
Picture by: Sandy Suseno

Next theme which representing South East Asia is Traditional cultures. That themes about tradition in Southeast Asia in the past that some of them are still in use today. The traditional cultures exhibition divided into two sections, Ancestor Worship and Ritual Death. Ancestor worship in South East Asia is the oldest forms of religion that spread throughout south East Asia. Ancestors make direct contact with God and the Spirit of Nature. God and the Spirit of Nature determine the fate of the people with their hands. All humans have tribulation because God and the Spirit of Nature are not happy. Misfortune can be pulled back by the ancestors with offerings and prayers.

In addition Ancestor Worship, Death Ritual considered the oldest culture and spread in the whole of Southeast Asia. The ceremony aims to prevent the spirit of a man who died from loss of the path to the spirit world / heaven. Traditional Culture in Southeast Asia has a variety of funeral ceremonies. Some of it has been lost, but others still do. Sacred ceremony was held to help people who die out of the world of spirits. This is very important because a dead soul's journey should be safe as expected. After dead soul's arriving in the spirit world they became the ancestor. Everyone can be an ancestor in this way, but only the influential people such as village elders, pastors, and the head of the family group will be an important ancestor. God, Nature and ancestor determine the fate of society in their hands. Crop failure, natural disasters, and diseases caused by their displeasure. Society should offer sacrifice and prayers to their ancestors, and their ancestors would mediate with God and nature (see Tropenmuseum, Label of Traditional Culture).



Ancestor Figure, Early 20th Century
Onohondro, Southern Nias, Indonesia
Collection of Ancestor Figures
Picture by: Sandy Suseno



Soul Boat, Middle 19th Century
Beaju Dayak, Kalimantan, Indonesia
Collection of Death Ritual
Picture by: Sandy Suseno

The next theme after the Exhibition of Traditional Culture is new idea. According Pienke Kal (Past Senior Curator of South East Asia), “the new ideas wants to tell how the new religions from the outside (particularly Hindu and Buddhist) entered and spread in Southeast Asia in the past and finally give an enormous cultural influence in South East Asia. Until now is still a lot of cultural relics found throughout South East Asia. Several are still in use and some other monuments already dead. To make a link the past and present on the theme, the Tropenmuseum presented this theme on three sections Hinduism in Bali, Buddhism in Thailand, and Court Culture.

Hinduism in Bali is to be one part of new idea themes. Since entry and spread of Islam in Nusantara / Indonesia, Hinduism in Indonesia suffered a huge setback. But it seems it does not happen in Bali. Hindu religion in Bali is still very life until now. In various aspects, the many advances of the modern world in Bali and contact with European tourists, the Balinese still adhere to Hinduism. Religious life in Bali is done directly by balancing and harmony, in the individual and in the community. God has always given offerings of rice, incense, flowers, and fruit. The children are taught Balinese dance since their small. They do a dance especiallt for God. Balinese people believe after death, their will return to Earth. Cremation becomes very important ceremony, because fire purifies the soul of the dead (see Tropenmuseum, Label of Hinduism in Bali).

Meanwhile, to see how Buddhism evolved in Southeast Asia from the past to the present, the Tropenmuseum presented Buddhism in Thailand as part of the theme of New Ides. Buddhism in Thailand as well as Hinduism, originated from India. Buddhism teaches the highest achievement after several reincarnations for someone who has gone through various trials of life in the World (see Tropenmuseum, Label of Buddhism Thailand).

The Hindu-Buddhist culture in the past, particularly from Indonesia can take a look at the court culture. Court Culture is part of section at New Idea's them in the Tropenmuseum. This section presents how the Tropenmuseum want Hindu Buddhist culture has become an integral part in the development of the kingdoms in South East Asia. The success of agriculture and trade lead to indigenous populations evolved into the Trading center/habour in some places. Since the 3rd century BC, the merchant and monks from India has been spreading Hindu-Buddhist influences in South East Asia. They often get help from local authorities (see Tropenmuseum, Label of Court Culture).

One of the Hindu-Buddhist cultural heritages is produced by Indo-Javanese culture period. The influence from Indian culture plays an important role to shaping Indo-Javanese culture. Java Island became the center of civilization Hindu-Buddhist in Indonesia and probably one of the largest in Southeast Asia. Indo Java period is divided into three sub-periods. In the age 3 - 8 BC is the Early Indo-Javanese Period, a trader India and monks spread their belief in the Indonesian archipelago. Java began to develop into Hindu and Buddhist culture in all aspects, and the roots with the local culture. Middle Javanese period (8- 10 century AD), during a period which is amazing because of the Development of the giant stone monuments. The influence of the real India is clearly visible from the architecture and decoration. The third period is the East Java Period (10- 15 AD) Effect of native Javanese culture increased. Hindu and Buddhist elements fused with Traditional beliefs and ancestor worship (see Tropenmuseum, Label of Indo-Javanese Period).



Statue God of Vishnu, Before 1940
Bali, Indonesia
Collection of Hinduism in Bali
Doc. Tropenmuseum, Amsterdam



Reclining Budha, Early 20th Century
Thailand
Collection of Buddhism in Thailand
Picture by: Sandy Suseno



Buddha Head, 800 A.D
Central Java, Indonesia
Collection of Court Culture
Picture by: Sandy Suseno

The last exhibition theme on permanent exhibition "Ooswaarts! Kunst, Kultuur, Kolonialisme" which represents Southeast Asia titled Identity. Based on information from Pienke Kal (Past Senior Curator of South East Asia at Tropenmuseum) through the theme, Tropenmuseum want to tell you How Southeast Asian Culture from the outside then acculturated and produce a new culture in Southeast Asia. In the theme Tropenmuseum represent South East Asia with some identities derived from local culture, resulting from past to present, and can show the identity of a region in South East Asia. This theme is divided into several parts: The Chinese Altar, Islam, Christianity in the Philippines, Jewelry, Gold and Silver, and Wood Carving

The first part of the Chinese Altar, the Chinese put a Buddhist religious ancestral altar in their house. Family altars always get a special place. Each year is given a special ceremony. It also coincided with a visit to the ancestral graves and treatments such as burning incense. People believe their ancestors will give thanks to the good in the future. One of the altars on display at the Tropenmuseum originated from Indonesia (see Tropenmuseum, Label of Chinese Altar).

Next is Christianity in the Philippines. The Philippines is Island Nation in South East dominated by Christian. The catholic people from Spain ruled the Philippines from 1565 to 1898; Catholic pastor came with the Spanish warships and merchants ships. They initially settled primarily in the northern Philippines. They build schools and churches. They need a statue to the saint at their altar. At first, they bring from Spain, but sometimes imported from Mexico. In Tropenmuseum, there is one of the statues from the Philippines namely Santos (see Tropenmuseum, Label of Christianity).

Islam is the dominant religion in Malaysia, Indonesia and the southern Philippines. Indonesia has the largest Muslim population in the world. When Islam go to South East Asia, Hinduism and Buddhism have become the main religion. Islam was introduced in Southeast Asia by the Arabs, traders and students of India and continues to spread in the 13th century. Many Muslim which combines the elements of their beliefs before Islam, the mystical beliefs of the Hindu or ancestor worship. Mixing elements of this religion produces a different form of Islam in South East Asia with Arabs (see Tropenmuseum, Label of Islam).

The other part in Identity themes is about jewelry. The shape, material and decoration from jewelry have a special characteristic of a country or region. Some jewelry also can explain the information from the wearer. Some jewelry is also used more simply because the user wants to look more attractive. Other jewelry also allows indicating the status on society, for example, badges and medals. There is also jewelry to reject bad luck and bring fortune, or as a talisman. Magical

ornaments are usually made of animal teeth; nails, feathers, and beak (see Tropenmuseum, Label of Jewelry).

Silver and Gold to be part of the theme of Identity. In South East Asia as well as in precious metals is done by using a variety of techniques. Regions with gold and silver objects made by special methods such Kota Gede in Yogyakarta and Bali. There are also techniques where jewelery using gold and silver threads are very smooth. The craftsmen can spread in West Sumatra, South Sulawesi, Yogyakarta and Bali. Other decor style is also found in North Sumatra and East Indonesia by using gold and silver beads. All of these techniques can be applied almost throughout Southeast Asia. In order to meet growing tourist market, many craftsmen that are increasing specialization (see Tropenmuseum, Label of Silver and Gold).

The last part of the exhibition woodcarving. Many woodcarving works to produce ship and home decoration in South East Asia. Decoration and ritual furniture made of tropical hardwood. Some examples, we can find cratmen and their building in Batak, Minangkabau, Toraja, and a Hindu temple in Bali. In Java highly skilled craftsmen we can see from the craft door, the types of window coverings and the cover room. In Central Java, a very famous wood craftsman from the area Jepara, Kudus, Cirebon and Yogyakarta (see Tropenmuseum, Label of Woodcarving).



Umar Maya, Jayeng Rono, Before 2003
Yogyakarta, Indonesia
Collection of Islam
Picture by: Sandy Suseno



Chinese Altar, Early 20th Century
Indonesia
Collection of Chinese Altar
Picture by: Sandy Suseno



Clothing Ceremony, Middle 20th Century
Blue Hmong, Northern Thailand
Collection of Jewellery
Picture by: Sandy Suseno



John The Baptist, Late 19th Century
Philippines
Collection of Christianity
Picture by: Sandy Suseno



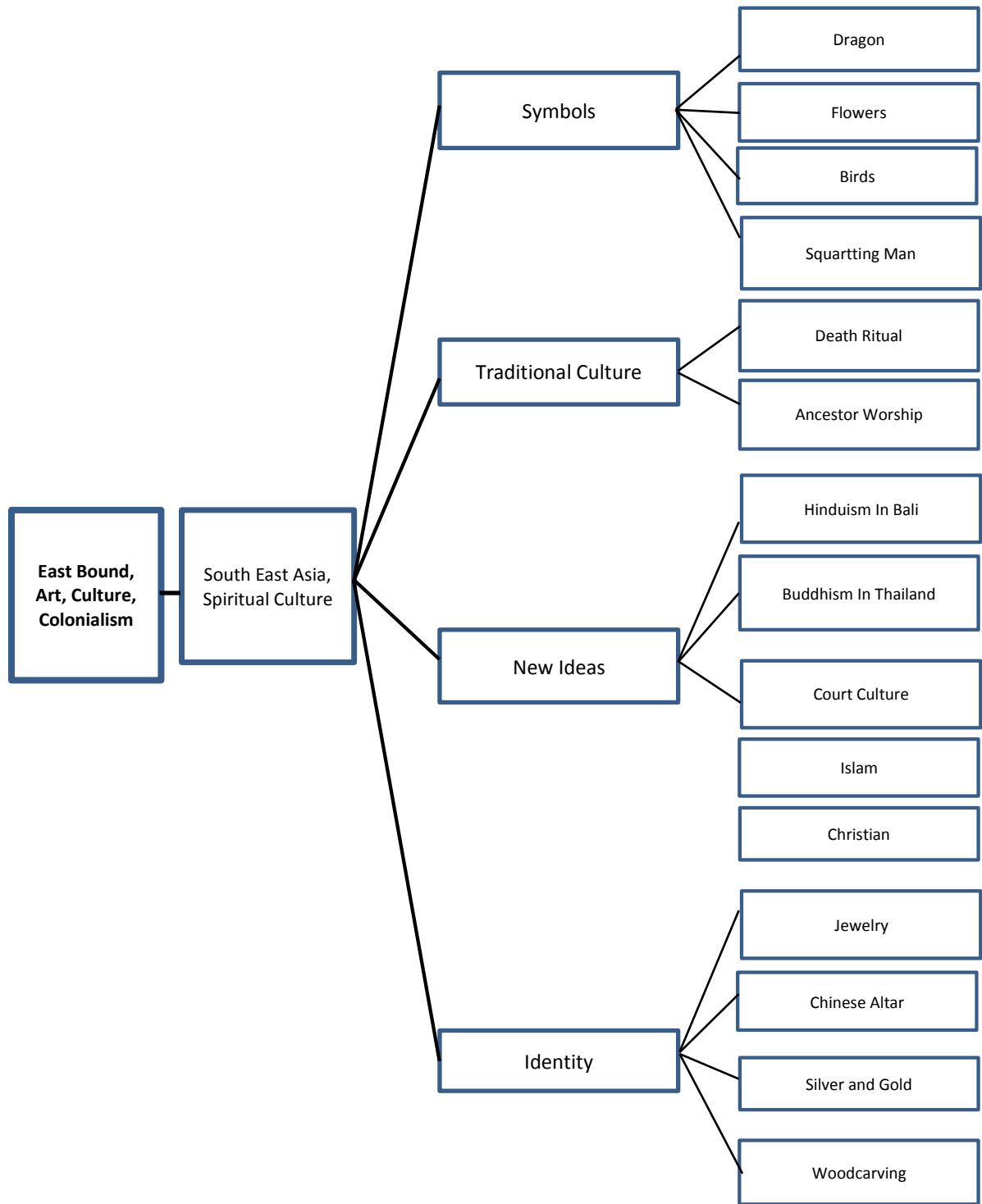
Plate with Tree of Life, Early 20th
Kasepuhan Cirebon, West Java, Indonesia
Collection of Woodcarving
Picture by: Sandy Suseno



Chasity Plate, Middle 20th Century
Tanimbar, South East Moluccas, Indonesia
Collection of Silver and Gold
Picture by: Sandy Suseno

I wrote description based on Tropenmuseum visitor's guide label and interview with the curator of South East Asia in the Tropenmuseum, Amsterdam. It that's mean that is description form in the the Tropenmuseum and that is how Tropenmuseum represented South East Asia from their collection. From the description of the south East Asia exhibiton, we can know the outline of a story that Tropenmuseum wants to present. To facilitate for understanding of representation south East Asia in the exhibition we can see the following scheme:

<see next page>



Museum: Stories from the Collection

In the previous section I wrote about the representation of South East Asia by the Tropenmuseum in their permanent exhibition. This description is very important for me as a stimulant to find out what they learned from their learned and give to the public from the exhibition. In that cases, I see how strong the museum's collection that can generate stories and then representing it to the public.

This is consistent with the purpose of the museum according ICOM in the present. That purpose as collecting, education, learning and enjoyment. I borrow terminology from Jane Glaister about "The Power of Collection". "The Power of Collection" in the opinion of Jane Glaister (the founder of the museum association), telling that "They provide the facts and offer opportunities for research and learning. They can provide the status of thought, people and communities; serve as a reminder and certifier of a group or individual experience. They have a very strong influence on the economy, stimulating a more contemporary research, creativity, and industry. They can give people a very strong feeling against a place, identity, sense of belonging, achieving a full understanding of the past (Wilkinson In 2005: In Van Mesch, 2011).

Through this statement I understand how powerful the effect that can be generated by the collection to be a stimulant to lead public opinion on a matter. Through the collections, museum experts conducted research to get the facts, the data, and connection with the collection of parts or groups. From this they choose stories that will be presented to the public. This story is seen, read, and understood by the public. This Stories and collections which presented at the exhibition will be a stimulant to lead public opinion about something. Of course this does not directly affect the public opinion. For the public who have background knowledge similar with that exhibited they will respond. They can give the option to follow, reject, or fix the story from museum, those who do not have a similar background knowledge may be looking for other sources to compensate for what is given by museum, but for the public who passive respond, their tend to follow what the museum said, because they may very believe what is said by the museum became from the experts researcer, and their must be give the true story.

In the museum performance, they always collect new collections for their purpose. Collect is simple terms in everyday life, but when it is associated with the museum, collects becomes complicated. Collecting may be defined as a decision to eliminate a few special objects of the passage of time and to provide a permanent existence, a process also called museualitation. More appropriate phrase, collecting as a form of museualisation to bringing together objects from different origins to the same context. A collection raises an idea about the past

(and present) and creates the possibility to be discussion in the present (Van Mesch, 2011).

However, information and data from the original context is very important for the museum. This is due to the context and the original data that will make the value of the collection are different from other collections. Given these values , the public will realize how important the collections of the museum. To make important value from the collection, that's cannot only from the data and information of the collection. Developing Collection is the way to tell how importance the collection for the public. To explaining developing collection, I borrowed Laurajane Smith opinions that the development collection used to define the dynamic nature of a collection. The collection and achievement back as the two strategies in to developing collection, but also includes documentation, registration, and conservation and restoration important part to developing collection. Common approach to this activity provides an opportunity use the value of the collection.

From the data and fact of the collection in museum can conform the position of the collection as heritage. At least there are three levels to making the cultural heritage.

The first is on an institutional level. Government and institutions involved in the formation of cultural heritage, not only the beginning of the development and execution of cultural policy and financing, but also the beginning choose experts museums and cultural heritage that will make a collection. List of cultural heritage sites of national and international cultural heritage is a job, at this point certainty messages and ideas that can be lifted from the past and present. Museum collection is treated in the same way in the determination of cultural heritage. The site and object where never found but can be identified as a important story of cultural heritage can be used by cultural heritage and museum's experts (Smith, 2011).

The second context is by the community. Community often ignored in the records of cultural heritage when the community is also the professionals (Smith and Waterton, 2009). Museum staff and employees of cultural heritage may understand that the community is very interested in different things about cultural heritage. The ability of experts to engage and supervise is a part of cultural heritage, in many aspect same as the interests from the community (Smith and Waterton, 2009).

The third level is the individual context. When institutions such as museums and cultural heritage make hiring guide and their influence of cultural heritage to visitors, with extreme caution re-design and build exhibitions and materials that can interpret, they are not always able to control the meaning or understanding that visitors take away (Smith and Waterton, 2009). But we must realize that the

cultural heritage is not something that is still wrapped in the material; they are a vital and growing in community / public. In the original context of cultural heritage will provide a memory of the events or occurrences that will remind the community with them. In the new context of cultural heritage becomes stimulan for the public to be more aware about incident and the events in which they are involved. Cultural heritage will always provide the memory effect of the events in which they are involved regardless of the limitations of space and time.

Although cultural heritage is something that is vital and alive, we have to realize that cultural heritage is something that has been ended, although no action to interpret, but just an an activity around it is to remember, celebrate, communicate and express in the form of knowledge and memory, will result confirms and clarifies the identity of cultural values and social cognition (Smith, 2011). Individual and the public who are around them that provide significant value to the cultural heritage, so that cultural heritage can still be alive.

In its mission, the museum needs to convey the importance of the collection / cultural heritage to the public. In the process of delivering that, they need the necessary tools or "language". The "language" used by museum may be signs and symbols; they consist of voice, text, words, pictures electronics, music, and the object itself. Through the "language", they represented their importance value of collection to the community / public about concepts, ideas, and feelings (Hall, 1997).

Museum as a institution representing a story to the public is considered as one of the medium of learning. It is difficult to reach terms for decryption about learning at the museum. One of the expressions and are sometimes used to say the character of learning in the museum of the most basic and implicated as a difference to education in museums and education in a place such as a school and classroom is edutainment. Edutainment brings together education and entertainment, and the implication is their position as two conflicting activities. This becomes important where education is seen as something very different from what which occurred in the museum. Edutainment is an expression of the attempt to get the word to conceptualize the character and experience of learning at the museum (Hooper-Greenhil, 2007).

Learning with edutainment process in the museum is a way to achieve the mission of the museum at once distinguish the school or classroom. The way to make more democratic participant. In relation to the representation of cultural heritage, it is also a way to make visitors prefer to follow what the museum tells or not. But indirectly the museum continues to use their "language" to provide like a stimulant for visitors to follow them. In this case, when visitors have the same cultural context with a collection that represented, this will be a stimulant for them to think that it is the identity for them. On the other hand, when visitors

are in a different cultural context, it is also going to be a stimulant for the visitor to think that it is the identity of the people inhabitat in the cultural context where collections are located.

Rethinking About Southeast Asia

In the previous section I provide a process in the museum from the start until the end their represents a collection of stories to the public. The process also occurs in the Tropenmuseum, Amsterdam. From the representation of south East Asia in the Tropenmuseum, we have to ask Is it provides an overall representation of south east Asia? For me the museum as an institution has the limitation of space and time to represent the culture-in this case South east Asia, because of that we must to take an active role in the representation process.

In the representation of Southeast Asia in the Tropenmuseum give a lesson to the visitors about the local culture and acculturation in South East Asia. But is there an example of a culture that that their represented can generalization of all existing local culture in Southeast Asia? Is that symbols in the exhibition can generalization of the symbols used in the local culture in Southeast Asia? Is Traditional Culture shown there can generalization of the existing Traditional Culture in Southeast Asia? And Is New ideas and identity shown on exhibition in the Tropenmuseum can Generalization local cultural identity in Southeast Asia?

Culture in Southeast Asia can not be generalized in such a way as happened in the Tropenmuseum, Amsterdam. This is like force hand to unite the diversity in the form of static and not dynamic. Representation of Southeast Asia has an impact on the mindset, and ultimately affects the notion of culture in South East Asia. With the representation of visitors who are not generally associated with the cultural context in South East Asia, they would be think that these things that distinguishes their culture with South East Asia Culture. In my opinion, in form and material culture are different in one context and other contexts, but the essence of them is the same. As Traditional culture and new ideas on display at the Tropenmuseum, it will happen in all cultures in the world context. Respect for ancestors and those who have died will we meet in different parts of the world, although a different shape. Acculturation will find in all cultural contexts, although it is also a different shape.

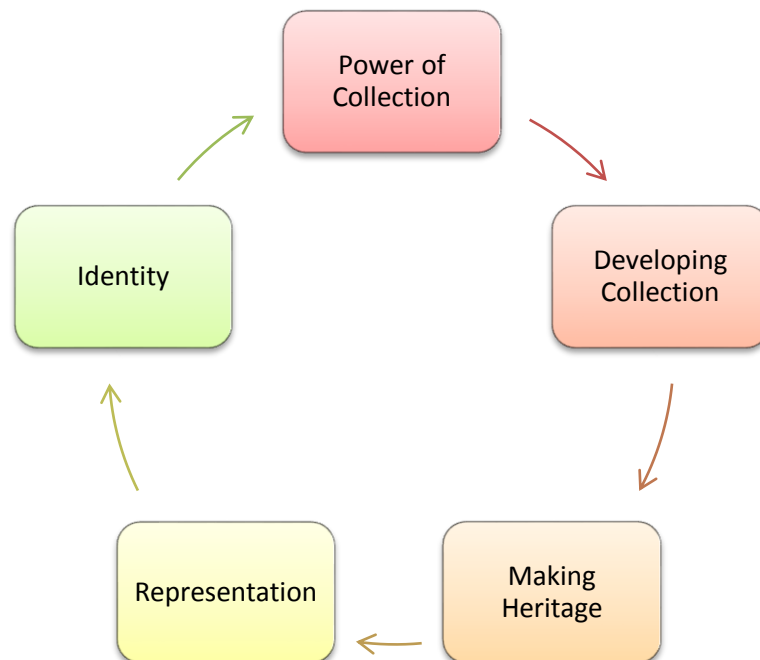
Tropenmuseum provide cultural lessons to the public in their communities. They present different collections with the community daily. By looking at the visitors would begin to think that the culture in Southeast Asia is very diverse, exotic, bizarre, and possibly also mystical. This is a problem of mindset, but in the long time will have an impact on future generations if we as

owners of culture in South East Asia are not active in the "fight" to provide a rethinking about identity from our local cultural context in Southeast Asia.

On the other hand there thinking about exotic cultures in Southeast Asia will make a number who study south East Asian culture, interest will continue to grow, that make people will be come to south east Asia region. This course will promote tourism and bring economic benefits. But it would make economic dependence while on the other hand more and more young people will receive a acculturation from outside, and will be increasingly difficult to maintain the local culture. Museum through representations that do can be one way of giving stimulants, the power of culture in the younger generation. With proper and continuously representation, it will form a "shield" to protective the local culture. Museums with its way to lead visitor mindset can also be used as a tool to lead public in the Southeast Asian region to determine their Identity.

Conclusion

Tropenmuseum as an institution in the field of culture has provided one of the forms of representation of Southeast Asia in the their Exhibition. At least it can be seen as example a form of learning for us that like that museum experts in Europe see the culture in South East Asia through the collections of the Museum. From what i wrote in this paper can be arranged a simple process that can be applied to the learning culture in South East Asia through the museum. The process can be understood simply from the circle of the following processes:



The process begins by collection, where collection is very important because they have a "Power Collection". The collections are developed; the "Collection Development" became a way to determine the significance/importance value. After known the significance value that will be determined to "Making Cultural Heritage". Important values of cultural heritage will be meaningful if the public also gave appreciation, where the required "Representation" in an appropriate manner to the public. Representation be taken to determine how the public will choose which parts they approve become their "identity". Does the public agree or reject the representation of the public museum.

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Interview

Pienke Kal, Past Senior Curator South East Asia , Tropenmuseum, Amsterdam, 23 May 2014.

MONKS, MEDIA AND MUSLIMS IN MYANMAR

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The Bamar,¹⁶ were supposedly expelled from the northwest Chinese province of *Kansu*, by ethnic Chinese in the 2nd millennium B.C, from where they moved to Tibet before migrating today Myanmar.¹⁷ It is a home for no less than fifty one million inhabitants¹⁸ strategically being located bridging South Asia and Southeast Asia while being squeezed between two nuclear giants, India and China. U Thant, Aung San Su Kyi, drugs are some of many factors that Myanmar is internationally well known. Since 1962, she had upheld strict neutrality in international relations under the military rule of Ne Win that lasted till 1988.¹⁹ It was Myanmar's unshaken neutrality that the world then divided under the bipolar system of the Cold War, had no alternative choice for post of the Secretary General of United Nations but to select U Thant.²⁰

This Southeast Asian nation is also home for the noble peace laureate, Aung San Su Kyi, the one and only female laureate from this region for her tireless nonviolent struggle for the re-emergence of democratic rule in Myanmar. Although she was little known among the citizens prior to 1988, she instantly became a beacon of hope for democracy for every Myanmar

¹⁶Often referred to as Burman in Non-Burmese literature, referring to a major ethnic group in Myanmar. There is no consensus among writers on the terms Myanmar and Burmese. However, Burman generally refers to the major ethnic group of Myanmar, Bamar, and Burmese refers to "people of Myanmar" irrespective of their ethnicity and religion.

¹⁷D. R. SarDesai, *"Southeast Asia Past and Present"*, Westview Press, 1989, p. 31.

¹⁸Myanmar is well known for unreliable statistics and the latest census conducted in March 2014 and the first in thirty years funded by United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA) states 51 million, almost nine million less than long estimated population of sixty million. See Irrawady, 13 August 2014. This census excludes some areas in Kachin state due to ongoing armed conflicts and Rohingyas from Arakan (Rakhine) state recognized as world's most oppressed minority but the Myanmar regime refuses to recognize them as citizens. See International Business Times, 30th August, 2014

¹⁹Ne Win's Burmese way to guided Socialism under the Burmese Social Party doomed in 1988 with fall of the Ne Win and announcement of the coup on 18 September 1988, almost forty days after the massive nationwide demonstration on 8th of September 1988 (8.8.88).

²⁰The choice of U Thant's burial site by the regime in 1973 had caused massive confrontation with university students and finally the body was exhumed and reburied in a place no one could authenticate the actual site although an official tombstone could be found in Yangon, The capital of the state.



holds high about Aung San²¹, her father. She spent almost two decades of her life under the house arrest in Yangon and only released few years ago. Her long stay

outside Myanmar, marriage to a British and two children who are both British citizens are some of the numerous obstacles she has to confront on the way to Myanmar's Presidency in 2015.

Myanmar gained independence in 1948 from the British and U Nu, a Bamar, became the first Prime Minister of state while Shat ShweTheik, a Shan, was appointed as the head of state, President. U Nu government failed to honor the *Pinlong Agreement*²² which promised self-rule to all ethnic states such as Kayin, Chin, Rakhine, Shan, Mon, Kachin, Kayar in ten years time. He invited Ne Win, the then military head, to take over the country. Military, under the name of caretaker government, ruled for two years and general election was held in 1960.

U Nu's coalition became victorious with the manifesto of making Buddhism as the state religion. In 1962, General Ne Win toppled democratically elected U Nu government in a bloodless coup and proclaimed Revolutionary Government under his leadership. He declared Burmese Way to Socialism as the official political ideology of the state and new constitution was proclaimed in 1974 making Burmese Socialist Party as the only political party in the state.

Extremely superstitious Ne Win had disconnected Myanmar from the outside world in the name of strict neutrality, suspended aid from both USSR and USA while mismanaging the state's resources. By 1988, Myanmar has been transformed into one of the poorest states in the world. Demonetization of Myanmar currency which turned already inflated Myanmar currency into mere pieces of paper on 5th September 1987 had further ignited anti-establishment sentiments among the citizens who subsequently taken their dissatisfaction to the streets that resulted in the subsequent collapse of the Socialist regime on 18th September 1988.

General Saw Maung, the then head of the Armed Forces, declared a coup on the ground that it was inevitable for the armed forces, *Tatmadaw*,²³ to remain neutral when the nation was in brink of disintegration. The new establishment, State Law and Order Restoration Council (SLORC) was named. It was later replaced by the State peace & Development Council (SPDC), the name seems to be more diplomatic and reconciliatory. Under the military rule, Myanmar has been under the sanctions from all major powers and Myanmar had had no choice but to rely on China.

²¹Aung San founded Burmese Independence Army (BIA) and was assassinated on 19th July 1947 by U Saw, a Myanmar, collaborated with Japan and was once exiled to Uganda by the British after he tried to make contacts with Japanese in Lisbon in Portugal while on his way from London during the eve of WWII.

²²Pinlon Agreement was signed on 12th February 1947 in Pinlon of Shan State between Aung San and leaders of different ethnics promising to proclaim independence as one and autonomy would be granted ten years after the independence.

²³Literally translated as *Great Armed Force* in Myanmar language

In 1997, Malaysia provided Myanmar with face saving way out to international community by inviting ASEAN which Myanmar did. By joining ASEAN, Myanmar found decent exit from isolation and once long isolated nation stepped into the regional integration. Myanmar's entry into ASEAN was not well welcome by both European Union and United States of America. Myanmar was even pressured to let go her chairmanship of ASEAN and only in 2014 that she managed to switch with Lao PDR for the ASEAN Chairmanship while Lao PDR agrees to be the ASEAN Chair in 2016, the year which Myanmar supposed to be chairing ASEAN.

General Saw Maung was later replaced by General ThanShwe whose rule practically lasted till 2010. Gen. ThanShwe drafted seven steps road map to democracy and a referendum on the new constitution was held in 2008. Since 2010, Myanmar has been apparently transformed as a democratic state, TheinSein, the former Prime Minister under the military regime, helming the state's presidency. Since then, Myanmar has attracted Foreign Direct Investment (FDI), relatively liberalized its economy, free media materialized, extremist Buddhist monks appeared causing ethnic/religious conflicts mostly between Muslims and Buddhists resulting in no less than 250 deaths and about 150,000 displaced.

This paper highlights major features of TheinSein's presidency since 2010: the emergence extremist Buddhist monks, liberalization of media and how these two elements have impacts on Muslim minority in Myanmar.

Emergence of Extremist Monks

Buddhism in Myanmar

Myanmar's seventy percent of the all fifty one million population professes Theravada Buddhism.²⁴ History relates that Gautama, who later became Buddha, the Enlightened One, was born as Hindu and his attempts to search for truth made him a Buddha. Some Muslims, not excluding *Maulana Kalam Azad*, who served as the minister of education of India, maintain that he could be one of the prophets of Islam.²⁵

²⁴Theravada Buddhism is also practiced in Thailand and Cambodia besides Sri Lanka and India while almost all East Asian states adopt *Mahayaha* Buddhism. Mahayana and Theravada emerged from *Hinayana* after the two could not agree upon how could one gain nirvana, eternal blissfulness. See MohdMohiyuddinMohdSulaiman, "*Religions in Malaysia*," 2005, Kuala Lumpur.

²⁵For Maulana Abdul Kalam, the prophet *Dzulkifil* whose name the Qur'an mentioned twice is no other than Gautama Buddha for *Dzul* in Arabic is the lord or master while *Kifl* could be corrupted term for *Kapil* referring to *Kapilavastu* of today Nepal where Buddha was reportedly born as the consonant 'p' does not exist in Arabic. Thus, *Dzulkifil* could be loosely translated as Laord or Master of *Kapil*.

Gautama Buddha propagates four noble truths and eight fold paths to gain enlightenments. He calls for moderation and denounces desire which he calls the cause of all sufferings, *Dukkha*. The name Bamar was supposedly given to the inhabitants of Myanmar by the ancient Hindus who called them Brahma. Later, Buddhism arrived to the shore of Myanmar and since then well rooted in the country.

Since then, *Tathon*,²⁶ today the Mon state of Myanmar, had become the center of Buddhism.²⁷ *Celebrated Chronicle of Silavamsa* had reportedly mentioned the occasion of the Lord Buddha visiting *Sunaparanta*, north of Myanmar and stayed at the sandalwood monastery for seven days and converted 84,000 people to Buddhism.²⁸ It was considered to be the faith of the day even during the rule of the king Anawratha of Bagan dynasty in 1044 AD. Anawratha wanted to establish pure Buddhism by out-lawing all forms of spirit worships that against Buddhist teachings. However, his subjects taken these practices of spirit worship underground and today it is not surprising to see all forms various deities and spirits worships throughout Myanmar. Officially, Buddhists in Myanmar believe in thirty seven spirits out of whom two were Muslims.²⁹

Thus, it is not astonishing that Myanmar is one of the most superstitious countries on this planet. Myanmar people are so superstitious that no aspect of a man's life could escape from the helm of *nat*, spirits, that in charge for every aspect of man's life. According to the Burmese belief system, everyone has his/her own personal guardian spirit whose duty is to record and regulate one's conduct, thoughts and behavior.³⁰ Burmese believe in both out door and in-door *nats*. A house guardian *nat*, "*Eindwin Mahagiri*," "*Lord of the Great Mountain (who is in the House)*," is considered to guard one's dwelling.³¹ Huge plants, rivers, forests, houses, streets, villages, lakes, fields, towns and cities all have *nats* that guard and

²⁶ *Tathon* is also known as *SuvanaBhumi*, *TuwanaBumi* or *Sudhammavati*. See Renard, Ronald, "Minorities in Burmese History," in Silva, K.M De, Pensri Duke, Ellens S. Goldberg and Nathan Katz, (eds.), "*Ethnic Conflict in Buddhist Society, Sri Lanka, Thailand and Myanmar*," Westviews Press, Colorado, 1988, p.83

²⁷ Co J. Grant, "*New Myanmar*," (Macmillan, New York 1940), p. 101

²⁸ Than Tun, "*Essays on the History and Buddhism of Myanmar*," Paul Strachan, (ed.), Kisdacale Publication, 1988, p. 6.

²⁹ MohdMohiyuddinMohdSulaiman, *Shadow of the Images: Arabs in Myanmar*, 2005

³⁰ This *nat* is a special and personal nat, known as Ko-saung-nat, one's own inner guardian spirit.

³¹ A large, un-husked coconut dressed with red turban, perfumed was hung from a pillar post somewhere in the house to represent it. *Nats* are of several levels, starting from those who live in the sky abodes, and to those who stay close to human abodes. *Nats* are also of various levels of power and goodness, as they are of various shapes and sizes. The Burmese have a specific list of Thirty-Seven Nats.

protect them.³²*Nats* for Burmese people are similar to the way Catholic Church views their Saints.³³

Superstition

The Bamars in particular and Burmese in general, are superstitious, having faith in fortune telling, bad omen, zodiacal signs and traditionally practice spirit worship.³⁴*Gaotama Buddha* had reportedly admonished his disciples “*not to rely on anything except oneself*” for his salvation,³⁵ however, many Burmese maintain a strong belief in spirit (*nat*)³⁶ worship.³⁷Burmese consider *nats* as supernatural, when correctly propitiated they could aid worshippers in accomplishing important tasks, vanquishing enemies and many others. Despite of the fact that the British had agreed to grant Myanmar’s independence in 1947, she insisted to promulgate it only on 4th January 1948, at 0420 a.m. the date and the time carefully chosen by the Myanmar astrologers.

General Ne Win, the former President of Myanmar, as known among Burmese, never took a decision until he had questioned astrologers. He was said to have bathed in dolphins' blood to regain his youth.³⁸ To disarm his enemies, he usually practiced *yedayachay*.³⁹ In the mid-1980s, he withdrew 50 and 100 *kyat* notes and replaced them with the 35 *kyat* note, considered a luckier number. He circulated a 75 *kyat* notes on his 75th birthday. His belief that nine was an auspicious number, and introduced new notes in the denominations of 45 and 90 kyats—because they were divisible by nine,⁴⁰ (4+5=9) and (9+0=9). Guardian writes:

“Superstition has also played a prominent role in Ne Win's life - soon after being told his lucky number was nine he cannibalized the currency and made the Kyat

³²Zarni, “Burmese Culture”, In Nicholas Greenwood (ed.) *“Myanmar: Then and Now.”* Bucks, UK: Bradts Publications, 1995, pp. 59 - 67

³³ http://www.oriental-galleries.com/burmese_nats.htm (5th May 2005)

³⁴This belief is rooted in the basic Buddhist teaching, which is that all sentient beings, humans, nat and animals are fellow beings reincarnating the cycle of rebirth.

³⁵Beneath the Sala tree at Kusinagara, in his last words to his disciples, the Buddha reportedly said: “*Make yourself a light. Rely upon yourself: do not depend upon anyone else. Make my teaching s your light. Rely upon them: do not depend upon any other teaching.*” See, “*The teaching of Buddha*,” Society for Promotion of Buddhism, Kosaido Printing Cp. Ltd., Tokyo, Japan, p. 18

³⁶The term ‘*nat*’ is assumed to have derived from Pali, ‘*natha*,’ means Lord or Guardian

³⁷It is a pre-Buddhist belief originated from animistic tradition, associated with hills, trees, lakes and other natural features.

³⁸ The Washington Times, December 21, 2002

³⁹ a Burmese system of charms and numerology

⁴⁰TIME Asia Magazine, Vol. 160, No. 23, December 16, 2002

divisible by nine rather than 10 - and striking at this aspect of his life shows how serious the generals are.”⁴¹

After massive demonstration in 1988, Ne Win resigned as the head of state and State laws and Order Restoration Council (SLORC) was formed on 18th (1+8 = 9) of September (9th month of the year) 1988 and announced new general elections to take place on 27th (2+7=9) May, 1990.⁴² The Burmese superstition does not stop in lucky number alone. In 1970, Ne Win decided all vehicles be driven right (side of the road) after soothsayer allegedly told him “*to move to the right,*” but later it was reported that the soothsayer was referring to the economy.⁴³

Even the decade long detention of Aung San Su Kyi was based on the same premise that Tuesday born Than Shwe symbolizing ‘mouse’ could not be able to confront Thursday born Aung San Su Kyi for she represents lioness. Thus, the best possible solution was nothing but left the loin in the cage.

The state’s capital was moved from Yangon to *Nay PyiDaw*⁴⁴ from Yangon in 2005. Strangely on November 11, at 11.00 a.m. with 1,100 military trucks ferrying no less than 11 armed battalions along with 11 ministries.⁴⁵ Myanmar divers are still searching for a sunk 270 tons bell better known as Dhammazedì bell for it was minted by the king Dhammazedì 130 years before Portuguese mercenary Philip de Brito attempted to carry it away by boat so that he could met it to make cannon for his ships. The divers believe that a curse has protected it.⁴⁶

An old Burmese superstition that anyone whose livelihood depends on conducting funerals is tainted still has some impacts on today’s Barmars. One famous actor, *Kyaw Thu*, complained that many actresses refused to act with him for he runs a Free Funeral Service Society that helps poor to have decent funerals.⁴⁷ In short, it is suffice to quote Father Sagermano’s phrase that “*there perhaps is not a nation in the world so given to superstition as the Burmese.*”⁴⁸

⁴¹Guardian, March 15, 2002

⁴²MyaMaung, “*The Myanmar road to the past,*” Asian Survey, Vol. XXXIX, No. 2, March/April 1999, p.276

⁴³Ecenbarger, William, “*Which Side of the Road is Right,*” Reader’s Digest, October 2004, p. 112

⁴⁴ Initially known as *Pyin Ma Nar* but renamed as *Nay PyiDaw*, an ancient term referring to the city where the king resides.

⁴⁵Christian Science Monitor, 31 August 2014

⁴⁶ Associated Press, 23rd August 2014

⁴⁷Irrawady Magazine· Vol. 11, No. 10, Chiang Mai, Thailand, December 2013

⁴⁸Sagermano, Father, “*The Burmese Empire: A hundred Years Ago,*” Santiago de Compostela, Spain, Fifth edition, 1966, p. 4.

Monks & Superstition

Some monks from upper Myanmar propagated a wild assumption on numerical expression '786' usually found on cars, houses and shops belonged to Muslims in major cities in Myanmar. Although no one knows the exact origin of it but it is certain that only those of Indian descents are familiar with it convincing manifestation that it could have been originated from Muslims living in Indian subcontinent. In Malaysia usually '786' is commonly found in Penang where many Indian Muslims reside. These monks interpreted 786 in a way that no one would. $7+8+6 = 21$, testifying possible Muslims' attempt to transform Myanmar into an Islamic state. Astonishingly, no Muslim has no idea of this nor subscribe to it.

Myanmar banned June 2013 issue of the Time magazine, followed by Sri Lanka⁴⁹, another Buddhist majority nation, for carrying a cover picture of *Wirathu*, the chief of 969⁵⁰ movements which was invented to confront Muslims' 786. The numerology '969' refers to three jewels: nine attributes of the Gautama Buddha, the six attributes of his teachings and the nine attributes of monastic order. It calls for boycotting Muslim business grown like a forest fire and Buddhists have been advised to conduct business deals only with their Buddhist counterparts. In some areas, such as Kayin state, any Buddhist buying from a Muslim shop photographed and forced to return the purchased.⁵¹

Wirathu calls Muslims as mad dogs and masjids as enemy bases.⁵² Monks have been forefront in delivering hate speeches against Muslims, misinterpreting Islamic teaching and even making fun of Azan, Muslims' call for prayers. 969 movements has also initiated a bill to be sent to parliament disallowing Buddhist women from marrying Muslims or anyone non-Buddhist which would carry a jail sentence no less than 10 years.⁵³

Many Islamic schools, *madrasa* and *Jaami'a*,⁵⁴ are destroyed, burnt or shut down soon after the ethnic/ religious conflicts erupted since early 2012. A fire broke out at the Islamic religious boarding school in the central capital killing thirteen students on 2nd April 2013 and the authority insisted that the fire was the result of a faulty transformer while Muslims maintained that it was arson.

Numerous opinions offered for the possible factors caused the re-emergence of it ranging from blaming the adversary forces within unhappy with the speed of

⁴⁹ The Washington Times, 2nd July, 2013

⁵⁰ The Wall Street Journal, 28th June, 2013

⁵¹ Interview with an anonymous Myanmar

⁵² ABC News, 1st July 2013

⁵³ The Wall Street Journal, 28th June, 2013

⁵⁴ *Madrasa* generally refers to Islamic school (*Madarish* for plural) and *Jami'ah* refers to university in Western sense although no undergraduate courses or post graduate courses on Islam offered.

reforms being taken place in the country to economic stakeholders for fear of losing continuous opportunities. Some reason possible dark forces, which have for so long controlled Myanmar economy, to drive away foreign investors from this unexplored land of Southeast Asia.

However, many Myanmar Muslims feel that they have to pay the price for the superstitious belief of the majority inhabitants. Some underground literatures but openly published and widely available in Myanmar made mentioned of how certain people with power needed to overcome bad omen as we have witnessed throughout the Myanmar political history.

The last son of the previous head of state, General Than Shwe, often mediated near *Pyin Ma Nar (Nay Pyi Daw)*. As story goes, he predicted that a female (*Ma* in Myanmar alphabet or *M* in English) would take over Presidency in 2015. Thus, plans are constructed to avert the omens. Town and cities that either begin or end with '*Ma*' shall be treated like '*yitpuzaw*'⁵⁵ where riots emerged and suppressed. The first word *Ma* must be for Muslims and soon after it riots broken out in *Maung Daw*, *Mingala Tawn Nyunt's Mingala* market was bunt down, followed by *Mawlamyain* incidences, *Myit Kyi Nar's Mine Jar Yan* offensive war. Not to forget *Mandalay* areas' *Maikthilar* and what have taken place in *Mon Ywa*.

Media

Media

Media plays a great role in transforming a society. Although one positively at all-time assumes that media's main objective is to create an informed community with useful information based on authentic sources, however, the same media can play a very destructive role by disseminating mischievous disinformation based on selective but distorted information derived from unsubstantiated sources.

As the result, every state has certain rules and regulations related media in order to maintain peace and stability in a given country. No country on this planet could afford total unlimited media freedom. What we have and could have today has been the freest media among all media controlled in one way or another.

The United States of America (USA), the country which always calls for the media freedom in other countries, was ranked 47th in the list of 179 countries in *Reporters Without Borders Press Freedom Index 2012*. France was listed 38th and United Kingdom was ranked 28th. The bottom of the list was Eritrea (179th). North

⁵⁵ It refers to the way a spirit is worship by dancing vigorously as if someone is possessed by an evil spirit.

Korea clinched 178th position, Turkmenistan 177th, Syria 176th and Iran was ranked in 175th. In Southeast Asia, Malaysia was ranked in 122th, Brunei 129th, Singapore 135th, Thailand 137th, Philippines 140th. Myanmar and Vietnam fall among twelve countries at the bottom of the list Myanmar clinching 169th and Vietnam 172th position.

Therefore, it could be erroneous to assume in totality that media freedom is directly related to the democratic community and its freedom is better guaranteed although in most cases the democratic environments do help to flourish media freedom. Norway and Finland are considered to be the two countries that have freest media in the world.

More often than not, these democratic societies are confronted with the dilemma of freedom of speech vs national and economic security. In early 2006, the world witnessed Muslim consumers from many countries boycotting Danish goods in protest of the publication of caricatures of the Prophet Muhammad which had cost Denmark's companies billions. From cheese to toys made by Danes or Dane based companies had been taken off the shelves of stores in Muslim majority countries in the Middle East as Muslims await an apology for the cartoons published in the Danish newspaper, which the Dane government had refused on the ground that freedom of speech is guaranteed under the nation's laws. As the result, one of Europe's largest dairy companies, Arla Foods, suffered the worst hit, losing approximately \$1.6 million each day.⁵⁶

Media in Myanmar

Centre for Independence Journalism in January 2009 reported The "Myanmar Thit" monthly magazine's latest issue has been delayed for featuring the portrait of former United Nations' Secretary General U Thant. In 2010, four journals were suspended within six weeks by the state censors due to various reasons. The state's censorship board, the Press Scrutiny and Registration Division was unconformable with the title 'Will September return?' which could remind the people of September 2007 Saffron Revolution headed by monks due to higher cost of living in the country.

Some other sources maintain the reason for the journal suspension was as the result of printing weather information which could cause unwarranted public concern over meteorological conditions. One of the editors was quoted as saying *"The relationship between journalists and the censorship board has worsened. In the past, if a journal made mistakes, it would merely receive a warning. But now, if a journal commits an error, it could be suspended."* The *Envoy News* and *Popular* journals were suspended for seven days each for featuring actresses in

⁵⁶China Daily: 17th February, 2006

cover photos deemed “incompatible with Burmese culture.” In 2012, the state censors suspended *The Voice* for two weeks over an article “Concept and Process” on constitutional issues.⁵⁷

However, the new civilian turned military government made a number of progressive laws and reforms including reforming media laws. Today, according to the ministry of information Myanmar, about two hundreds private-run journals and over two hundreds magazines published periodically while the numbers of publishers could be almost seven thousands. It has five main daily newspapers published namely Myanmar Alin, The Mirror, The New Light of Myanmar, Myawaddy and Yadanapon.⁵⁸

Irresponsible Media & inter-religious riot

It was <http://www.narinjara.com/main/> website that first published the news of the death of a Buddhist girl allegedly robbed, raped and murdered by Muslims in a village little known to outside world in Rakhine, an official name for Arakan, state in June 2012. The state media had the first time in Myanmar published three names of the alleged accused along with their religious affiliation using the term *Kalar* referring to their Islamic faith.

Subsequently, this fabricated news spread through Facebook and a bus carrying Muslims was stopped on the highway in *TaungGok* where no less than ten people were brutally hacked to death by the Buddhists. Later, postmortem on the victim found that she was not raped. As the result of the riots between two different communities, 200 died in clashes and more than thousands displaced, mostly Rohingyas.⁵⁹

Decades long misunderstanding between the two communities blown out of proportion while Rakhine capitalizing the issue against their Rohingya counterparts with various accusations not excluding being illegal immigrants from Bangladesh. Newly liberated media has been maximized with hate messages against Rohingyas calling them Bengali. Myanmar Muslims in general remain quiet and were not express their solidarity with their Muslim counterparts in Rakhine for they will too be termed as Bengalis by the Buddhists in places where they reside. Muslim villages were burnt and many were driven out to the sea floating for weeks. The authorities were criticized for not taking concrete steps to defuse the tension between the two communities or siding with Rakhines who are Buddhists for apparently no Muslim is allowed to join the security forces in Myanmar.

⁵⁷Centre for Independence Journalism: 18th August, 2010

⁵⁸Xinhua news, 20th September, 2012

⁵⁹BBC, 3rd July 2014

In March 2013, a clash between the Buddhist and Muslims flared in Meikthila of Mandalay located in central Myanmar due to a misunderstanding between a Muslim gold shop owner and a Buddhist customer. It was quickly transformed into an ethnic/ religious conflict between Bamar Buddhists and Muslims who profess Islam. Many outsiders assume that it was too between Rohingyas and Buddhists.

Those Muslims who remained silent when Rohingyas were attacked by the Rakhine Buddhists felt the heat of mistrust for they too have been attacked by the Bamar Buddhists who have been living side by the side with them for centuries. The whole Muslim area was razed to ash and many mostly Muslims ended up living in refugee centers protected by the government forces after more than forty death. BBC aired a video clip of how a Muslim was tied and burnt alive and a man who tried to pour water on him to extinguish fire was too attacked by the cheering crowd.

In all cases, social media was widely used to instigate the hatred against Muslims. Wirathu has been preaching anti-Muslim speeches by specifically mentioning how Meikthila could become a Muslim town due to growing Muslim population. His speeches were quickly spread via YouTube and Facebook as if laying the foundation for conflict or making it ready when any misunderstanding breaks out between any two different communities.

Usually numerous doctored pictures are uploaded via social media by irresponsible agencies with vested interests. Some pictures show dead Muslims surrounded by a group of men in trousers with subtitled mentioning how Muslims are being victimized in Myanmar. However, few would notice that Myanmar men do not put on trousers but *sarong* or *longyi*. The falsification of pictures is so successful international communities begin to doubt even original pictures. that Two people were killed in June 2014 as the result of another social media upload claiming a Buddhist girl was raped by two Muslims in Mandalay which turned out to be false. The government is fully aware of the consequences of the liberalizing of media and it has recently announced to introduce code of conduct for internet.⁶⁰

Muslim Minority

Muslims in Myanmar

Muslims in Myanmar are mostly Sunni, of Hanafi sect smaller Shi'ie followers. They could constitute approximately thirteen percent of total population, although Myanmar consistently maintains that Muslims are no more

⁶⁰Channel News Asia, 23rd August 2014

than four percent of the population.⁶¹ Muslims in Myanmar can be categorized into four different groups by omitting some significant Muslim minority communities i.e., Pantay (Chinese Muslims), the largest group could be *Rohingya*, who member approximately two million throughout the country. Bamar converts to Islam in the time of Bamar kings term themselves to be ‘*pure Bamar Muslims*’, followed by *Indian Muslims* born in Myanmar of two Indian Muslim parents and lastly, the *Zerbadees* who are the children of mixed marriages between Indian Muslim fathers and Buddhist Bamar mothers.⁶² Each group has very different relationships with the Buddhist majority and with the regime of Myanmar today.⁶³

Arrival of Islam in Myanmar

Chinese sources had recored the presence of Persian (Muslim colonies) on the border of Myanmar and Yunan in as early as 860 C.E.⁶⁴ Islam reached Myanmar in early Pagan (pronounce ‘Bagan’ in Burmese) era and numerous Myanmar lietarures had unequivocally stated that Islam and Arabs had had interactions with Myanmar inhiabitants.⁶⁵ Written records found on Stone Writings (*Kyauk Sar*) had too made mentioned of the word ‘*Pa-te*’ or ‘*Pan-te*,’ which literally refering Muslims.

Arab travellers too recorded presence of Islam in Myanmar and floursihing Muslim Persian community till 16th century. Ahmad Bin Majid Annajadi wrote in his work, “*Kitabul Fawa-id fi Usulul Bahrul Kawa-id*,” that there were three important ports in Myanmar, Patain (Basin), Mottama (*Martaban*), and Tan Lyin (*Syriam*). These Arabs and Persians had too established numerous bases in Mergui (known as *Myait* in Burmese) located in Tanintharyi (*Tamaing Sari* in BahasaMalayu) division by transforming it as a centre of trade and commerce in 16th century.⁶⁶

⁶¹Andrew Selth also noted a few who believe that Muslims could constitute sixteen percent or eight million of total population although most statistics on Burma are unreliable and this matter is not an exception. See Andrew Selth “*Burma’s Muslims: Terrorists or Terrorized?*” Australia National University, 2003, p. 5. It is said that Representatives of faiths other than Buddhism often mistrust the official religious statistics. See Bruce Matthews, “*Ethnic and Religious Diversity: Myanmar’s Unfolding Nemesis*”, ISEAS 2001, p. 5.

⁶²Bruce Matthews, “*Ethnic and Religious Diversity: Myanmar’s Unfolding Nemesis*”, (ISEAS 2001), p.5.

⁶³Andrew Selth “*Burma’s Muslims: Terrorists or Terrorized?*” (ANU 2003), p. 5.

⁶⁴S. Q.Fatimi, “*The Role of China in Spread of Islam in Southeast Asia*,” University of Singapore, 1959, pp. 7 – 8, quoted in Yegar, Moshe, “*The Muslims of Burma*,” OttaHarrassowitz – Wiesbaden, 1972, p.2

⁶⁵Daw Tint Sein, “*Kong BaoungKhik Yin Kyae Mu Ni Dan*,” Tat Ka To PyinNyar Magazine (in Burmese), Tat Ka To Myar Press, Rangoon, Vol. III, No. 4, July 1973, p. 75

⁶⁶ShweMyaiteMaung, “*Myait: The Town Built by Arab (race)*,” Man Dai Newspaper, 12 March 1956

Burmese chronicles made mentioned of an incidence of two Arab boys, sons of a Arab trader who have become two of highly venerated 37 spirits of Burmese people. Annual seven day festival “Taung Pyone” is held in their (two brothers) memory, pork is prohibited throughout festival for the two brothers are said to Muslims.⁶⁷ Second mention of Arab in Burmese Chronocle is regarding an Arab Muslim teacher who taught king Saw Lu (1077 – 1088 C.E) after he succeeded his father king Anawratha. Upon occupying the throne, king Saw Lu appointed Rahman Khan,⁶⁸ the son of his teacher as the governor of Ussa (Pegu) city.

Many Arabic vocabularies too made way into Myanmar language. Arabic ‘*Zabib*’ means grape is called *zapyit* in Burmese, *Karawiah* (bay leaves) is *karaway*, *Catifah* (velvet) is *Katipar*, *Alam* (flag) is *Alan*, *Araq* (alcohol) is pronounced *Aret*, *Muallim* (captain/leader) is called *Malain*, *Kalam* (pen) is *Kalau*, *Kissa* (matter/story) is *kessa*.⁶⁹

Many Muslims had selflessly served numerous Myanmar kings in various capacities through out Burmese history. *Nay Myo Gong Na Rat* (Khan Sat Bo), *Sayar Gyi U Nu*, and few others deserve to be highlighted, indeed. *Kong Baung Set Maha Yar Za Win Daw Gyi*⁷⁰ made mentioned of the incidence of the invasion of British in 1824 A.D. that caused the first British – Myanmar confrontation which eventually led some parts of Myanmar fallen to British.

*“Maha Bandula, the Chief Minister, did not fear the Kalar’s (foreigners’) bombs and weapons but spread his Shwe Thi (Golden Umbrella) and marched to and fro from the top of the army post. Outside, he instructed Nay Myo Gong Na Rat (Khan Sat Bo) to guard against (the invaders) with seventy horses and (horse-riders).”*⁷¹

Muslim identity and statelessness

Rohingya, known to be the most oppressed community in the world according to United Nations, suffer the most in Myanmar for their citizenship is under scrutiny according to 1982 Citizenship laws that necessitates one to prove his/her ancestors’ presence on the soil of Myanmar before 1824 Anglo – Burmese war.

⁶⁷MohdMohiyuddinBin MohdSulaiman, “*Reverend Shadows of Holy Images: Arabs of Burma*,” (unpublished) paper presented in Conference on Yemeni-Hadrami in Southeast Asia : Identity maintenance or Assimilation?, 26-28 August 2005, International Islamic University Malaysia

⁶⁸Burmese history states him as Ngayan Man Kan.

⁶⁹Summer Islamic Course Text by Islamic Center of Myanmar, Vol. II, Yangon, April 2003, p.

221

⁷⁰*Great KonBaung Chronicles*

⁷¹*Kong Baung Set Maha Yar Za Win Daw Gyi*, 2nd edition, p. 379-392

The word *Rohingya*, also known as *Rwangya*, could have derived from “*Rohang*” the ancient name of Arakan, while it could also be the corrupted form of an Arabic term “*Raham*.” Nya means ‘owner or the people of’ therefore *Rohang-nya* refers to the people of Rohang. It could also be possible that the word *Rohingya* is the result of a mutilation of the word “*Rwa Hong KaKyar*” means “*tiger from the old village*” in Burmese⁷² while some others argue that the modern term Arakan is supposed to have derived from the Arabic word “*Al Rakhang*”.⁷³

Rohingyas maintain that they are completely different from either Indians or Bangladeshi stocks by refuting many Rakhines’ contention that they are the British era settlers and product of the British colonial expansion into Burmese territory⁷⁴ while many academicians consider them as having no major difference with any Indian descent and are considered one.⁷⁵

Whatever the case may be, for Rohingyas, they consider themselves to be the natives of the Arakan and sons of the soil. The Rohingyas maintain their consistent claim that they are no less indigenous than any other indigenous races of Burma by referring the names of those kings who had ruled Arakan kingdom by Muslim names.⁷⁶ Rohingyas take pride in Arakan which was once an independent kingdom⁷⁷ till it was annexed into Burman Kingdom in 1785.⁷⁸ The language of Rohingyas is till today widely spoken in Burma, especially in Arakan. It is mixture of Arabic, Urdu, Persians and even some Dutch words.

Today, many Rohingyas have migrated to different parts of Myanmar and diluted their identity by mixing themselves with non-Rohingya stocks either by intermarriages with other ethnics or adopting Myanmar names.

Acknowledging particular ethnics as natives in Myanmar forced Muslims to be associated with one of the ethnics in Myanmar. A Muslim of any background would usually express him/herself on citizenship scrutiny card that s/he is Kachin plus Mon plus and Indian or Bengali. In early 1990s Muslims are allowed to write Islam as religion and Bamar in ethnic but now a new rule is maintained that no Muslim could be Bamar but others such as Chin, Mon, etc.

⁷²Tha Ba “Rohingyas in Arakan”, *Guardian Monthly*, Vol. 1, (Rangoon, May 1960)

⁷³S.H. Hodivala “*Studies in the History of Indian Muslims*”, (New Delhi 1992) 59.

⁷⁴A.F. K “*The Rohingyas of Arakan: Their Quest for Justice*”, (Ahmed Jilani, USA, 1999), 57.

⁷⁵Robert Taylor, “The Legal Status of Indians in Contemporary Burma”, in K.S Sandhu & A.

Mani eds, “*Indian Communities in Southeast Asia*”, (ISEAS, 1993), 666-667.

⁷⁶A.F. K Jilani “*The Rohingyas of Arakan: Their Quest for Justice*”, (Ahmed Jilani, USA, 1999), 84 – 85

⁷⁷Renard, Ronald D., “Minorities in Burmese History” in Silva, K.M.De, Pensri, Duke, Ellens S. (ed.) “*Ethnic Conflict in Buddhist Society: Sri Lanka, Thailand and Burma*”, (Westview Press, Colorado, 1988), 77.

⁷⁸Christie, Clive J., “*A Modern History of Southeast Asia: Decolonization, Nationalism and Separatism*”, ISEAS, 1996, 163.

Conclusion

Myanmar Muslims have been living in Myanmar for generations with numerous obstacles posed internally or externally. They have joined hand with their Buddhist counterparts for the independence of Myanmar from the British and one of the martyrs assassinated along with Aung San on 19th July 1947 was Mr. Abdul Razak, the serving minister of education, a Muslim. managed to transformed themselves for the best interest of the community as seen in early 1960s where the then Premier U Nu demanded disbanding of Bamar Muslim Organization (BMO) on the ground that if Muslims of Bamar race claim to be Bamar then politics should not fought on different religious faith. Myanmar Muslims agreed to it and formed Islamic Council of Myanmar which Ikhwan al Muslimin branch of Myanmar condemned it as an effort to please Myanmar Muslims for political purposes.

New constitution that came into effect in early 2011 after the election of 2010 rises numerous serious issues on Muslim rights for it has failed to state the minority right. Although one article guarantees freedom of religious right, another sub article outlines that no religious organization can run business, engage in investment and many others. It also states that religious freedom is subjected to public order, health concerns and new laws which will be formulated in future. Generally, zakat, waqaf and many other Islamic faith related matters are great concerns for many Muslims in Myanmar.

Emergence of new media that demonizes Muslims, the government's indecisive actions in conflict management, continuously name calling of Muslims as potential terrorists based on Boko Haram, Al Qaeda, ISIS, Patani United Liberation Organization (PULO), Gerakan Aceh Merdeka (GAM) and Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF), unsettled Muslims' citizenship scrutiny process, more than one hundred and forty thousand Muslims Internally displaced People (IDPs) are continue to be major concerns for the stability and development of Myanmar in particular and ASEAN as a whole.

Muslims in Myanmar doubt the regime's efforts in considering them as a part and parcel of the state's development. At the same time, there is no way that Myanmar could consistently harass them for they are today found in almost every city and town.

ASEAN, as a responsible regional organization, could do more in bring more stability and development in Myanmar by engaging her more than what has been so far. Although ASEAN upholds no interference in domestic affairs of the other states, prolong conflicts in any ASEAN state could have direct and indirect consequences in both short and long term. Rohingya exodus manifests that neighboring countries in the region are not immune from what taken place in Myanmar. We witness ethnic religious clashes among Myanmar nationals in

Indonesian jails and on Malaysian streets that left few deaths. Thousands of irregular sea-going people of Rohingyas washed up to the shores of Thailand, Malaysia and Indonesia which certainly burden the receiving countries.

Muslim related issues in Myanmar in general and Rohingya matter in particular demand regional solutions. While Myanmar maintains that Rohingya has never existed on Myanmar while United Nations High Commissioner for Refugee (UNHCR) offices in the region continuously certifies them as people of concern, it would be become continuously a pulling factor for those stateless people to migrate to countries where they find more acceptance.

Myanmar authority needs to be seen as neutral entity in any conflict so that either party does not feel alienated. Today Myanmar does not have any Islamic suicide bomber or strong armed Muslim separatist group with exception of Rohingya Solidarity Organization (RSO) which has been broken into pieces since its formation, but it could not mean that there can be none. Everyone should play respective role to ensure that Myanmar's situation continue to ameliorate by engaging more dialogue with Myanmar since Malaysia's constructive engagement to bring Myanmar into ASEAN in 1997 has been proven right.

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WOOD CONNECTIONS: CREATING SPACES AND POSSIBILITIES FOR WOOD CARVERS IN THE PHILIPPINES

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WOOD CONNECTIONS: CREATING SPACES AND POSSIBILITIES FOR WOOD CARVERS IN THE PHILIPPINES

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Abstract

Wood carving is essential to the living culture and tradition of communities in the ASEAN region. Each country produces unique wood products as dictated by functionality and later by aesthetics and symbolisms. The symbolisms or representations of spirit, power or wealth in the kingdoms or various religious denominations, teak and rosewood furnitures of continental Asia, the animal and plant carvings of the islands in the South East, all these provide a diverse gamut of influences and traditions that define the living culture of a community. This paper presents the major influences of the wood carving tradition of three towns all located in the island of Luzon, Philippines that have eked a living from the creation of wood carvings and furniture from wood harvested from the nearby mountain ranges of Sierra Madre and the Cordillera. This study was done through interviews of wood carvers from the towns of Hungduan, Betis, and Paete who participated in the wood carving competition organized by the University of the Philippines Open University over the past two years. Despite the challenges of a total log ban and lack of government support, the wood carvers and furniture makers continue to hone their craft and support each other by being organized into artists' guilds, their participation in exhibits and competitions and continuing interaction with fellow wood carvers. The UP Open University has created the venue of possibilities for these wood carvers to interact, communicate, and learn from each other and has contributed to raising the consciousness of the wood carver as an artist.

Introduction

Wood has a unique position in the evolution of humankind as it has supplied and addressed two basic human requirements, food and shelter. Earliest recorded tools were fashioned into spearheads, clubs and handles from the Stone Age (Natural History Museum, London, Nature On-line). With stone axes capable of cutting down trees, dug-out canoes enabled them to explore and to build shelters and houses. Humans would have never been able to evolve from eating raw grains, vegetables and meat to the delectable taste of hot cooked food without wood. Nor could fire have been invented without the supply of wood as fuel. The invention and use of metal would not have reached its peak without the use of firewood in its beginnings. Early expeditions to far-away frontiers would not have been possible without the hulls of ships carved from huge trunks of trees and the wood-fired steam engines. Wood is inextricably linked with human civilization.

In the Philippines, three towns in Luzon have engaged in wood carving, spanning generations. These are Hungduan, located in Ifugao province in Northern Luzon, Betis, and Guagua in Pampanga province in Central Luzon and Paete, Laguna province in Southern Luzon. These communities have embraced wood as their life support. It has provided livelihood and sustenance for families. The use of wood in their everyday life continues to this day. This study will describe these communities of practice in woodcarving, their culture, their inspiration, opportunities and challenges based on woodcarvers' interviews and secondary references.

Objectives

The study has the following objectives:

1. Describe the wood carving towns based in Luzon Philippines, its history of wood carving, its peoples, and their wood carving tradition; and
2. To know the inspiration, opportunities, challenges of the wood carvers.

Methodology.

Wood carvers from the towns of Betis, Pampanga and Paete, Laguna were interviewed and recorded on video prior to the launch of the UPOU 2013 wood carving competition. Questions regarding their work, inspiration, challenges and plans for the future of their craft were among the questions posted to the wood carvers. Thirty one woodcarvers were interviewed and their interviews were transcribed.

Secondary information were also collected from references and other materials to describe the history of wood-carving in the three towns of Luzon.

The Wood Carving Towns of Luzon

This section describes the wood carving communities of Luzon. The history of wood carving in these towns is presented.

Hungduan is one of the eleven municipalities of the province of Ifugao that forms part of the Cordillera Administrative Region (CAR) located in the Northern-Central part of Luzon. Hungduan, together with parts of Banawe, Hingyon, Lagawe and Kiangnan are peopled by an ethnolinguistic group called the Tuwali.



The town can be reached after one and a half hours by public transport, usually a jeepney, from Banaue. Stone-walled rice terraces (Hapao and Poblacion) are important tourist attractions in Hungduan, with the Hapao Rice Terraces being a UNESCO World Heritage Site for Cultural Landscape. One other preoccupation is wood carving and furniture manufacturing, with the woodcarvers of Hapao in Hungduan known

to be the best wood carvers in the Cordillera. With the large demand for souvenirs in Baguio City in Benguet province from tourists, an exodus of woodcarvers to Asin Road, Tuba, Benguet happened after the World War II to meet this growing demand (Cordillera Schools Group, Inc. 72; Espiritu). In recent years, wood carvers and furniture makers have settled in Silang Cavite highway towards Tagaytay City and in Pangasinan to supply wood furnitures and other decorative items from these places experiencing a property boom.

The barangay of Sta. Ursula where the wood carvers of Guagua reside



belongs to the Betis district of the town of Guagua in the province of Pampanga. Pampanga is one of the provinces of Central Luzon and is drained by the Pampanga River. Betis used to be a separate town from Guagua until it was fused together during the Spanish period. It has been described that Guagua was a bustling agricultural and commercial district even prior to the arrival of the Spaniards. It became officially a town in 1574 when Spanish priests belonging to the Augustinian order established the early Church. With the establishment of the

Catholic religion, Chinese artisans with Filipino apprentices were engaged in the

construction of churches in the area. Trade with the Chinese was brisk and the town became the residence of Chinese mestizos engaged as wood carvers and furniture makers among others. Sta. Ursula is the home town of Maestro Apung Juan Flores (1900-1992), a well-known wood carver (Tana “Maestro Apong Juan Flores: His Life and His Art”).

Paete is a town of the province of Laguna in the main island of Luzon that lies between the Laguna de Bay lake and the Sierra Madre mountain range. It is



about 113 km from Manila, the capital of the Philippines and takes about three hours through public transport from Manila to reach Paete. Paete was founded in 1580 by Spanish priests of the Franciscan order. The name of the town, Paete, comes from the Filipino word “paet,” which means chisel. The rural way of life is still very evident in this small town. Its religious traditions and rural way of life is relived in the wood carvings being sold in the shops lining the main street of the town of Paete.

Current Situation of Wood Carvers in Luzon

In this section, some relevant aspects of the current situation of the wood carvers of Luzon Island in the Philippines are briefly described using the interviews from thirty-one wood carvers. There was only one female wood carver while the rest were males.

Ifugao Way of Life. In the 2000 years old rice-based communities of the Cordillera peoples of northern Luzon, Philippines, the village, river, forest and the rice terraces form a web in the natural cycle of life. Communities depend on a large part, on their forest (*muyong*), to provide water to the growing rice grains and the river that runs through the community. The utilitarian use of wood in Hongduan, Ifugao, has evolved and been given a deeper cultural meaning. For example, wood carvings of rice gods and rituals ensure a bountiful harvest; the house builder waits for a good sign from the village elder to harvest the major columns of the collapsible Ifugao house; and decorations are embellished on wood home furnishings and receptacles, toys, musical instruments and final resting places.

Wood carving is described to be a “specialized craft” in Ifugao (Cordillera Schools Group, Inc. 83). Trees in their woodlots called “pinugo” or “muyong” are sustainably used for various purposes. These woodlots are maintained through a

muyong forest management by the community or the individual. Narra (*Pterocarpus indicus*) is a premium tree species used for carving out rice gods to ensure a bountiful harvest. Other tree species such as “calantas” (*Toona calantas*), “palayon” (*Lithocarpus solerianus* or *Podocarpus rumphii*) are used to make food containers, benches, tools for winnowing rice, “bakuwog” (*Sandoricum vindallii*) and “galiwgiwon” (*Gironniera glabra*) for house construction, “palayon” for firewood, food and medicinal purposes (Madulid 77-94).

With increased demand for wood for souvenir and other decorative items in Baguio City and followed by a total log ban (Executive Order 23 by President Benigno Simeon Aquino III) in 2011, the wood carvers found it harder to access raw materials and transport their finished products. Moreover, the total log ban has severely curtailed their source of livelihood and income. This forced the wood carvers and furniture makers to move to areas where wood was available such as Aurora, Quezon, Pangasinan and La Union (Ramo and Gomarcho “Log Ban Hurts Asin’s Famous Woodcarvers”) and in places with booming property markets with high demand for their finished products such as in Silang Cavite and Pangasinan. The Hungduan Woodworks & Handicrafts Cooperative and the Philippine - Ifugao Woodcarvers & Wood-based Industries Development Association made representation with their Congressman and were able to get an exemption from the total log ban in 2013 (Dumlao “Ifugao woodcarvers exempted from log ban”). To drum up interest in the Ifugao wood carving tradition in Tuba, Benguet, the Sinco Baddang Association organized a three day tribal art and culture with a “pa-ot” or wood carving contest last May 22-24 (Dacawi, “Ifugao arts and cultural fest set at Asin Road from May 22–24”).

Mandukit of Betis. Based on the twenty-three wood carvers who were interviewed, Maestro Juan C. Flores’ influence and inspiration to the generations of wood carvers in Sta. Ursula is large even upon death. After serving as apprentice in the “talleres” of known wood carvers Maximo Vicente and Isabelo Tampingco in Manila, Maestro Juan Flores decided to go back to his hometown to teach and mentor his town mates (Tana “Maestro Apong Juan Flores: His Life and His Art”). His major art patron was former First Lady Imelda R. Marcos. To this day, elegant wood chandeliers can be found hanging from the Malacanang Palace, the official residence of the President of the Philippines. His legacy helped establish the name of Betis as the wood carving capital of Pampanga. Images of saints and religious icons, altars or “retablos” for newly built churches, elaborate columns, angels and chandeliers, “carosas” or carriages for processions, and European styled furnitures were produced in the area. Aside from serving as apprentices, wood carvers did not have formal training in the arts. Wood carvers

recall that they learned their craft from observation of fathers and uncles engaged in wood carving during their elementary or high school days. The front section of the wood carver's house served as the "taller" or wood carver's studio. Literally, it was a family affair. Mimesis or imitation was the standard. Clients commission wood carvers to make their religious images using a photo of the statue to be carved from recycled wood or plantation wood like *Gmelina* or fruit tree wood like jackfruit or santol or acacia. They did not have lessons on proportion, nor were clay models used. Their work was a direct translation of a photograph or an image. The cost of a religious statue or image may range from 10,000-30,000 pesos (\$200-\$800), depending on the size and the type of image. But the commissions are usually intermittent and far between. Hence the amount is just enough to tide the family over till another job request comes along. To support their families, some wood carvers are engaged as part time woodcarvers for big "talleres" like Betis Galleria or furniture companies like Betis Craft. Sta. Ursula still remains as a wood carving town with wood carvers literally living side by side. The wood carvers of Sta. Ursula have also organized themselves into the Sta Ursula Artist Guild in June 2013. Under the leadership of Mr Willy Layug, a known artist of Ecclesiastical Art or Religious Art, the members of the Guild have participated in the two UPOU sponsored wood carving competitions and have likewise participated in two local wood carving competitions in Guagua and San Fernando Pampanga.

Manlililok of Paete. Paete is a town rich in history, traditions and culture, and has produced a number of artisans and artists spanning generations that is unparalleled elsewhere in the Philippines. Fajardo (70) describes the history, culture and communities of practice in wood carving in the town of Paete. Church leaders throughout the history of the town encouraged the local townsfolk to pursue and create religious images and other church adornments while the rural way of life also provided inspiration in creating wood sculptures depicting rural scenes. In addition to these, "bangayngay" (Fajardo 106) or home decorations and utilitarian kitchen wares like bowls and plates, wooden shoes or "bakya", and "taka" or paper mache products were also produced. Of more recent origin are the sculptures carved from ice, fruit and vegetable from the original wood carvers who have found employment in hotels and restaurants in the overseas market as kitchen staff of cruise ships and hotels. A few of the second and third generation of wood carvers have been able to enroll in universities teaching fine arts. Of the eight wood carvers interviewed, only one female artist finished a Fine Arts degree. Some did not finish their university degrees due to demands of providing for their families and engaged head-on with their wood carving commissions. One wood carver calls his art a "*painture*" (meaning a painting and a sculpture in one artwork). This has contributed to the flourishing art in the town. Among his peers, he is the only one who has reached national stature due to his regular

collaboration with a group of artists headed by Araceli L. Dans, a famous painter. One artist is also an apprentice under Mr. Luis Ac-ac, one of the well-known wood sculptors of Paete, Laguna. Apprenticeships entailed regular contact hours with the “*maestro*” wood carver. Other wood carvers mentioned carving several pieces of hands, feet or ears of religious images until the craft is perfected or having all images drawn by hand on paper. These artisans and artists know of no other way of life as they have been born and honed into a culture of creation and imitation. Paete has reached a level of success by adapting to the times. Several organizations of wood carvers have come and gone due to petty disagreements and greed. To date, a group of Paete woodcarvers have organized themselves to form the Paete Artist Guild. Members have actively participated in the two UPOU sponsored wood carving competition.

The pursuit of wood carving in these three towns of Luzon is primarily for livelihood and sustenance of families, not for art’s sake. Except for some wood carvers in Paete having some form of formal education in the arts, majority have learned their craft through apprenticeship, observation and sheer determination. In fact, for the towns of Betis and Paete, there is a respectable competition in the crafting of religious statues and objects, with both towns priding themselves with having created the “best.”

Collective Capacity and Voice

A cursory look at the craftsmanship of wood carvings will show that there is room for improvement in the quality and consistency/sustainability of these products for it to become more competitive in the ASEAN region and in the wider international market. The Filipino wood carvers based in Luzon have formed artists guilds in their own localities, but these groups are small and currently have limited networks outside of their respective localities; In the past, there have been limited or no opportunities to engage with master artisans for cross-learning and artistic exchanges; admittedly there are some existing factors and constraints that hinder networking, cohesiveness, competitiveness, and access to markets by the Filipino wood carving industry.

There is an old adage 'in unity there is strength' that can provide inspiration for the collective voice of Filipino wood carvers, to be heard and considered through the organization of artist guilds. For example, collective action done by Hungduan wood carvers through advocacy with their local Congressman resulted in their local guild (the Hungduan Woodworks & Handicrafts Cooperative and the Philippine - Ifugao Woodcarvers & Wood-based Industries Development Association) being exempted from the total log ban. This would not have been possible if the association of wood carvers were not organized. As a result of this, the wood carvers are now assured of their livelihood. With the shortage of wood expected to affect production of wood products, it would be beneficial for the wood carvers of Luzon to organize themselves into an association in order to address the challenges of their livelihood and engage in activities that will help the plight of the woodcarvers such as reforestation, plantation management and optimization of wood resources.

UPOU Creating Spaces and Possibilities for Woodcarvers

With all these constraints as discussed above, the University of the Philippines Open University embarked on an extension project to provide with the support, means and the opportunity to interact with one another. As a prelude to these extension activities, visits to the towns of Betis and Paete were done to meet with the wood carvers. For the town of Paete, Laguna, the visit coincided with a local wood carving exhibit in the town of Paete organized by the artist guild. It was an opportune time to meet the artists and get acquainted with their work. In the town of Guagua, Pampanga where Sta. Ursula is a barangay of the Betis district, the first stop was the Mayor's office of the town of Guagua. We were then directed to the house of the well-known artist of Betis, Mr. Willy Layug. He was instrumental in our visit through the historic streets of Sta Ursula, a well-known wood carving barangay of Guagua. Walking through the streets of Sta Ursula was like walking through an "avenue of stars" as the homes and their "talleres" of the wood carvers were lined up along the street. A walk through their small chapel is like walking through one of the old baroque churches of Cadiz, Spain.

As an initial project, UPOU hosted a wood carving competition in March 2013. Wood carvers from the towns of Betis, Pampanga and Paete Laguna were able to meet with each other and participate in the wood carving competition. The launch of the wood carving competition was held on March 21, recognized as World Wood Day by one of the events' major sponsor, the International Wood Culture Society (IWCS). For majority of the participants, it was their first time to join a competition. Certain assumptions were recognized as critical in the success of this output or activity. First, there was funding support for the competition. Financial support was provided by numerous organizations and individuals.

External support was given by the International Wood Culture Society (IWCS) and the UPOU Foundation Incorporated as co-sponsors of the activity. Logistics, personnel and financial support were also provided by the UP Open University leadership. The local government units of Betis, Pampanga provided transportation for the participants and their families to attend the competition.

For the second UPOU Wood Carving Competition held last February 2014, wood carvers, architecture students and home builders participated in the wood home design, carving and furniture competition. Aside from the wood carvers of Betis, Pampanga and Paete, Laguna, wood carvers from Tuba, Benguet and Hungduan, Ifugao also participated in the competition. The wood carvers from the Cordillera were invited through the support of a former mayor of Hungduan and also wood furniture maker doing business in Silang, Cavite. As mentioned in the previous section, the total log ban in the Philippines has created a diaspora of wood carvers moving to places where the supply of wood is not a constraint. This has allowed for easier access and communication with the wood carvers of the northern Luzon, which under normal circumstances would be difficult to access. Certificates and cash prizes were given to the winners of each category. Similar to the first wood carving competition, financial support for the activity was provided by the IWCS, the UPOU Foundation Inc., MATIMCO, SMART Communications, with logistics, personnel and transportation provided by the UP Open University. The local government units of Hungduan and Guagua also provided transportation for the Hungduan and Betis wood carvers participating in the competition. As a sequel to the wood carving competition, wood carvers of Betis and Hungduan were provided opportunities to visit the town of Paete and interact with the wood carvers. This has allowed for exchange of ideas and best practices. For example, application of varnishes in Hungduan will now change as a result of the interaction between Paete and Hungduan wood carvers.

Summary and Conclusion

In the normal cycle of life, humans and trees depend on each other as the air we exhale together with water is what trees use to build their trunk, leaves, flowers and fruits. Wood has been inextricably linked with the earliest human settlements as it provides for a large part of our needs. As human societies flourished, the use of wood has evolved from functional to an appreciation of beauty and art.

Three wood carving towns of Luzon, Philippines have embarked on this romance with wood. From the northern Cordillera mountains where wood carving follows the rice culture and rituals of the terraced villages of Hungduan, Ifugao to the Spanish influence on the wood carving traditions of the towns of Betis, Guagua and the rural way of life in the town of Paete Laguna, all these

present their unique communities of practice in the art of wood carving. To this day, these communities continue to pursue their wood carving way of life and adapt to the changing times and constraints brought about by laws on the cutting of wood species for wood carving and furniture.

Trees and forests are always viewed as renewable resources and yet wood carvers are the first to feel the effects of a total log ban on tree species suitable for wood carving as it affects their livelihood and source of income for their families. But what has prevented us from planting more trees so that wood will never be in short supply? There should be a genuine and determined effort to replant areas with trees. An exemption from the total log ban is a stop gap measure to help the wood carvers of Hungduan. It does not help the other wood carvers located in the other two wood carving towns faced with the same predicament. Not only is supply a problem, the quality of wood products produced by the wood carvers themselves need refinement and a fresh perspective. Engaging wood carvers in sharing narratives and best practices in wood carving can enrich their knowledge and upgrade their skills.

The University of the Philippine Open University has hosted two wood carving competitions where wood carvers from these three wood carving towns have joined. The wood carving competitions has allowed for the wood carvers to interact with each other in an atmosphere of friendly competition. The recognition of their work through the awarding of prizes has empowered the woodcarvers to feel proud of their work.

Another wood carving competition is also being organized for 2015 with the inclusion of sharing of narratives of wood carvers and other artists. It will also be important to document the changes in behavior of the wood carvers and develop indicators to measure these changes. Woodcarvers' inputs are important to determine what other strategic interventions can be supported to continue the wood carving tradition of these towns.

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E-LEARNING STRATEGIES FOR ENGENDERING LOCAL KNOWLEDGE APPRECIATION IN TEENAGE LEARNERS

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Abstract

Local knowledge is a collection of facts and relates to the entire system of concepts, beliefs and perceptions that people hold about the world around them and is considered the main asset of communities in the struggle for survival (Warburton and Martin, 1999). In 2004, the United Nations' Food and Agricultural Organization expressed concern that many local knowledge systems run the risk of extinction. Rapid social, cultural, political and economic changes resulting from globalization has lead to cultural homogenization which favors modern consumerism over traditional knowledge (Ervin and Smith, 2008). What is lost are the narratives, traditions, social, religious and even healing practices that were handed down from one generation to the next through practices such as storytelling and apprenticeship. This paper presents a few initiatives and lesson plan exemplars that engender local knowledge appreciation among higher education students through the use of e-learning tools particularly social media applications such as Facebook and Pinterest to help reclaim local knowledge through research, documentation, knowledge sharing and curating activities integrated in classroom instruction in various content areas. The authors offer ideas on how eLearning can help aggregate these efforts to build online learning communities that promote local knowledge in the Philippines.

Introduction

Local knowledge is generally defined as the long-standing traditions and practices of certain regional, indigenous, or local communities (Kudngaongarm 2009). It includes the way people observe and measure their surroundings, their problem solving abilities and the way they validate new information. It also includes the processes whereby knowledge is generated, stored, applied and transmitted to others. Smith (2012) simply states it as “the knowledge that people who live in a particular place have about their area.”

The importance of local knowledge lies in the fact that it is the source of human capital in communities:

a country's ability to build and mobilize knowledge capital is as essential to sustainable development as the availability of physical and financial capital. The basic component of any country's knowledge system is its local knowledge. This encompasses the skills, experiences and insights of people, applied to maintain or improve their livelihood. (Food and Agricultural Organization of the United Nations).

With the onset of outcomes-based education, higher education institutions, public or private, are required to reflect the minimum standards set by the Commission on Higher Education (CHED) which include, “An appreciation of “Filipino historical and cultural heritage” based on Republic Act 7722 also known as the Higher Education Act of 1994”. Thus, local knowledge appreciation and conservation can be easily integrated to higher education curriculum across disciplines. In this digital age, it is high time for higher education institutions to make a conscious effort to blend the old with the new, without sacrificing anything in the process.

For local knowledge to thrive, it must be shared and taught to the younger generations as part of their personal history and identity. This can be done both inside and outside the four walls of the classroom with the aid of new and emerging technologies. This paper identifies some local knowledge educational initiatives by the government, educational institutions, organizations and individuals in the effort to marry the old and the new.

Methodology

A thorough look of how local knowledge relates to the many facets of society such as development, globalization and its role and impact on education is carefully examined. The paper also presents descriptive narratives of the efforts made by the government, local higher education institutions in different regions, local and international Non-Government Organizations (NGOs) and groups and

individuals in ensuring that local knowledge is preserved for future generation and making them available for use by educators, learners and enthusiasts both local and international.

A quick search on the available literatures on Philippine culture and traditions online revealed that there is an ocean of digitized materials that can be readily used by educators in enhancing local knowledge learning. Moreover, there are a number of online tools that can be utilized for the creation, curation and preservation of facts which can then be shared to a wide range of audience.

Beal defined Web 2.0 as the term given to describe a second generation of the World Wide Web that is focused on the ability for people to collaborate and share information online. Among the salient features of Web 2.0 includes open communication with an emphasis on Web-based communities of users, and more open sharing of information. Among the commonly used components of Web 2.0 are blogs, wikis and social networking sites. These are also the preferred web platform of digital natives particularly the teenagers and young adults. For the purpose of this study, the focus will be the use of Web 2.0 applications in engendering local knowledge appreciation among the young learners. The reason is that learning is being facilitated naturally as if breathing.

Perspectives on Local Knowledge

Local knowledge is the totality of perceptions, beliefs, understandings, facts, and skills that one or more members of a community use/s or potentially use/s to communicate about and manipulate the world around them (Wisner 2009). It has a utilitarian value to the people and is social in nature in the sense that there can be no knowledge that is completely separate from what others know and have known in the past (Wisner in Baybay 2011).

The United Nation's Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) defines local knowledge as synonymous, often interchangeably used, to indigenous knowledge which refers to "the understandings, skills and philosophies developed by societies with long histories of interaction with their natural surroundings." Local knowledge is informed decision-making about fundamental aspects of day-to-day life particularly for rural and indigenous peoples. It is considered integral to a cultural complex that encompasses language, systems of classification, resource use practices, social interactions, rituals and spirituality. Various social, political and scientific contexts have compelled others to use terms to refer to this knowledge such as: traditional ecological knowledge (TEK), rural peoples'/farmers' knowledge, ethnobiology/ethnobotany/ethnozoology, ethnoscience, folk science and indigenous science. Some authors such as Evers and Wall prefer to distinguish

between indigenous knowledge and local knowledge:

Indigenous knowledge is passed on from generation to generation and is firmly grounded in the tradition of a group, community or society. Local knowledge is acquired through learning and adoption to local conditions. Knowledge that has been brought back from studying abroad, from reading, viewing or listening to mass media or adopted through other channels which has become local knowledge, as soon as it has been adopted to local social and cultural conditions and is ready to be applied locally. Local knowledge constitutes a 'milieu' within a network of social interaction (Evers 2005:63).

To some, local knowledge has been presented as illogical, unsystematic and less favorable than western knowledge:

In the classic post-World War II development paradigm of 'modernisation', technology and knowledge transfer from the West were understood as the solution to the problems of development and poverty, and the local knowledge (often referred to as 'indigenous knowledge') of people in the 'Third World' was dismissed as non-scientific, backward, and a part of the problem (Blaikie et al. 1996; Grillo 2002 in Smith). In this sense, local knowledge was viewed as 'anti-development' by the development establishment (Smith).

Alternative theories later surfaced showing how working with local people in a more participatory approach wherein the direct recipients of development who are well versed with local issues and solutions is a much better approach.

Da Cunha believes that the widespread shift in legal thinking to a generalized privatization of knowledge may endanger the continued production of local knowledge as it may extend intellectual property rights to this domain. She believes that UNESCO can play a central role in the protection of intellectual rights in traditional culture against illicit exploitation.

Local Knowledge: the Key to Global Cultural Diversity

Douglas Nakashima traces UNESCO's interest in local knowledge springing from work on traditional knowledge and engendering global cultural diversity through the continuance of the interdisciplinary approach that includes tangible and intangible heritage, the enhancement of local and indigenous knowledge systems, the transmission of knowledge and the empowerment of indigenous

peoples.

UNESCO determined that local knowledge is the key to global cultural diversity and the foundation for locally-appropriate sustainable development. Local knowledge is considered important in the effectiveness of programs on sustainable development, natural disaster preparedness, biodiversity and climate change. UNESCO pays particular attention to the role of women in the transmission, preservation and elaboration of local knowledge. Women are seen as keepers of local knowledge and can manage to function as agents of change while preserving community cohesion at the local level.

Local Knowledge in Education

Nakashima notes that school curricula are often designed with little relevance to the culture of indigenous groups. As national languages replace mother tongues and the traditional status of parents and community elders become undermined by formally educated teachers, learners fail to see themselves, their histories and concerns in the learning materials and activities they process in school. Students lose knowledge, language and skills that promote well-being and ensure a socially-meaningful existence. UNESCO encourages the use of social context through inclusive curricula and teaching materials where the local community is encouraged to contribute to active learning that corresponds to the cultural and physical environment of the school. It advocates inclusive education policies and practices that promote indigenous cultures, values and identity through mother tongue instruction as a mean for preserving, transmitting and applying traditional knowledge in schools. Other policies for indigenous education include:

- Using local languages for initial literacy;
- Creating culturally responsive programmes of bilingual – or multilingual –education for children and adults;
- Providing skills specific to indigenous cultures, such as hunting, trapping or weaving, as well as more general skills, knowledge, attitudes, values and beliefs;
- Developing appropriate learning materials; and
- Using and integrating formal and non-formal learning styles and teaching methods as a means of recognizing indigenous ways of generating and transmitting knowledge and of giving value to the oral wisdom of indigenous peoples and non-verbal communication in education (pages 24 and 25)

Concern was also expressed in the loss of skills that can only be learned experientially outside the classroom such as hunting, tracking, navigating, food

preparation and survival skills (25).

Local Knowledge and Teenage Psychosocial Development

According to Erik Erikson's psychosocial stage theory, "Who am I and what can I be?" is the key existential question during teenage years in the development of ego identity. Ego identity is the conscious sense of self that humans develop through social interaction (Erikson). Erikson believed that passing this stage provides an individual with an ability to live by society's standards and expectations. Social settings help shape identity formation as "societies can provide institutionalized situations where individuals can identify with others and imitate roles (Adams 8)." Adams identified macro-environmental and micro-environmental features that influence identity formation through "shared values, ideologies, or norms that are socially constructed and communicated through signs, symbols, meanings, and expectations that are found in language, discourse or communication (9)."

Macro-environmental features included culture, economics, population demographics, politics, institutional values, physical environments, social class or caste, race or ethnic membership while micro-level features were interpersonal communication, conversation, written word, media, and common or routine daily interactions. Simply put, who you are and what you can or choose to be are greatly influenced by the knowledge provided in your local community. Our cultural values, which often include particular religious beliefs, shape our way of living and acting in the world (UNESCO). All these meanings or aspects of culture influence our worldviews and the ways in which we view our relationships with the Earth and each other. As a result, these aspects of culture affect different meanings of what it might mean to live sustainably:

Culture shapes the way we see the world. It therefore has the capacity to bring about the change of attitudes needed to ensure peace and sustainable development which, we know, form the only possible way forward for life on planet Earth. Today, that goal is still a long way off. A global crisis faces humanity at the dawn of the 21st century, marked by increasing poverty in our asymmetrical world, environmental degradation and short-sightedness in policy-making. Culture is a crucial key to solving this crisis.

The answers to these questions not only have a direct impact on the individual but also in the potential contribution teenagers make to a society. The survival of local knowledge lies in part in the appreciation and commitment to propagating local knowledge among themselves and the next generation. This

can be seen particularly in their appreciation of their local cultural heritage:

Culture can give people a connection to certain social values, beliefs, religions and customs. It allows them to identify with others of similar mindsets and backgrounds. Cultural heritage can provide an automatic sense of unity and belonging within a group and allows us to better understand previous generations and the history of where we come from (Cultivating Culture).

The Philippines is responding well to the call of globalization, may be too well, that there should be a safety net to maintain cultural awareness because of the tough competition that surround our youths from the bombardment of what they see on media and the fast growing technological landscape.

Cultivating Local Knowledge Appreciation in the Philippines

There is a healthy diversity of local knowledge initiatives in the Philippines that come in the form of formalized institutions, interest groups, organizational collaboration and individual efforts. The entities described below illustrate the range of efforts which were enabled primarily through information and communication technology.

National Center for Culture and the Arts. The promotion, conservation and protection of Philippine arts and culture has always been important to the Philippine government as evidenced by the presence of government offices and establishments dedicated to such tasks. The National Commission for Culture and the Arts was created in 1992 through Republic Act 7356 or “An Act Creating the National Commission for Culture and the Arts (NCCA), Establishing a National Endowment Fund for Culture and the Arts (NEFCA), and for Other Purposes.” This Commission is governed by representatives and heads from the following government agencies: Cultural Center of the Philippines, National Historical Commission of the Philippines, National Museum of the Philippines, National Library of the Philippines, Commission on the Filipino Language, National Archives of the Philippines, Committee on Culture, Arts and Education of the Senate of the Philippines, Committee on Basic Education and Culture of the Philippine House of Representatives, Department of Tourism, Department of Education and selected private sector representatives.

NCCA provides assistance to artists, arts organizations and other institutions in the form of grants from the National Endowment Fund for Culture and the Arts. Its program called the Schools of Living Traditions aim to preserve cultural heritage by ensuring its transmission to the next generations. It aims to

“encourage culture specialists/masters to continue with their own work, develop and expand the frontiers of that work, and train younger people to take their place in the future.” The mode of teaching is usually non-formal, oral and with practical demonstrations. The site maybe the house of the living master, a community social hall, or a center constructed for the purpose.

In the School of Living Traditions of the Talaandig community in Bukidnon, the curriculum is anchored on the cultural heritage of the members of the community which has been handed down from generation to generation. According to Datu Mingketay Victorino L. Saway the school emphasizes oral traditions particularly the narratives called “Nanangen”, the epic called “Ulagang”, and songs about animals called “Idangdang Limbay”. Aside from songs, the school also teaches their students the narrative of the Talaandigs called the “Gugud”, as well as proverbs contained in the Basahan. Customary laws, called “Batasan”, are also taught to orient the students on the political system governing their community.

The NCCA gives recognition such as the National Artists of the Philippines to individuals who have made significant contributions in Philippine arts and culture, National Living Treasures for the finest traditional artists and “Gawad Alab ng Haraya” for outstanding achievements in the performing arts, cultural conservation, arts management, library and information services program, theater production, cultural journalism and documentation, and other fields. One example is National Living Treasure Awardee Lang Dulay who is a T’boli textile weaver from Lake Sebu, South Cotabato.

Asian University Digital Resource Network. The Asian University Digital Resource Network (AUDRN) is an initiative of the United Board for Christian Higher Education in Asia, a non-profit organization based in New York and Hong Kong. AUDRN is hosted by Miriam College in the Philippines and is composed to eighteen (18) higher education institutions in Asia for the advancement of local knowledge in whole person education (AUDRN). Its mission is to enhance the capacity of Asian higher education institutions in rediscovering, documenting, co-creating and sharing local knowledge using digital tools. AUDRN provides a channel for colleges and universities across the region to share information and resources, gain training and experience in using digital tools, and generate new opportunities for collaboration. It integrates local knowledge in the areas of instruction, research, extension and service-learning and advocates for the legitimacy of local knowledge as academic and the recognition of local communities as legitimate sources of knowledge. Finally, in its strategic desire to contribute to social transformation, AUDRN works toward creating sustainable communities in the local and national levels, in particular,

and in the Asian region, in general.

AUDRN promotes new ways that local knowledge can be collected, preserved, and shared by university faculty, researchers, library staff, and students, using inexpensive digital tools and media in teaching and learning, research, and expanding library and reference materials collections. Some of the researches generated through funding and collaborative opportunities provided by AUDRN are as follows, (1) “The Virgins of Cavite: Religiosity, Arts & History” by De La Salle University Dasmariñas, (2) “In Search of Indigenous/Traditional Knowledge and Practices of Tan-awan Village, Negros” by West Negros University and (3) “Building Bridges between Formal Laws and Living Laws: An Action Research on IP Laws in the Philippines,” an AUDRN collaborative research.

Since 2009, AUDRN has conducted numerous capacity building trainings, seminars, forums, workshops and conferences for educators in the areas of local knowledge research and the integration of local knowledge in instruction using digital tools such as:

- the international conference-workshop last May 2011 on “Discovering Local Knowledge in the 21st Century, Connecting Classrooms to the World;”
- forums on “Teaching and Learning Local Knowledge in the Digital Age” from November 2011 to May 2012;
- a local knowledge youth camp for college students of AUDRN member institutions last April 2012;
- the first National Convention “Beyond Borders” last June 20-21, 2013;
- a fully online course on “Teaching for the Online Facilitation of Local Knowledge” in 2013; and
- a workshop on Local Knowledge Literacy for Educators.

AUDRN also fostered local knowledge discussion in the digital domains through its website and social media channels particularly the creation of Facebook groups.

Individual and Collaborative Efforts in Local Knowledge preservation

There are a number of interest groups and individuals who are dedicated to the preservation of local knowledge which are reflective of their respective works.

Tao Foundation for Culture and Arts. Tao Foundation for Culture and Arts is a non-profit, non-government organization established to research, document, promote and help develop the various indigenous cultural and artistic

traditions of the Philippines. It also aims to disseminate and make available to the public the fruits of research through education, publications, and the mass media.

They hope to encourage fellow-Filipinos to preserve cultural traditions while assisting them with tools for survival through education and various community initiatives.

The United Nations in the Philippines. The United Nations Environment Program (UNEP), the United Nations Development Program (UNDP), the Convention for Biological Diversity (CBD) and the International Union for the Conservation of Nature (IUCN) have recognized indigenous knowledge as a very significant factor in the preservation of key biodiversity conservation areas in several countries including the Philippines. This recognition is exemplified in the institutionalization of the Indigenous Community Conserved Areas (ICCA) mechanism, which provides for the protection of ancestral domain, particularly those threatened by commercial or even government intrusion. The traditions and heritage handed down by indigenous communities from one generation to another have been the cornerstone of the continuous existence of indigenous communities through the ages (Nelson in Quilinguing 2014). In the Philippines, the ICCA has been instrumental in the protection of ancestral lands as those of the Manobos in Mt. Kalatungan, Bukidnon, the Aetas of Zambales, the Higaonons of Agusan del Sur and the Tagbanua of El Nido, Palawan. These areas, long under the administration of the indigenous communities and preserved through the continued observance of traditional knowledge, are among the few remaining areas in the country that protect the Philippines' distinct biodiversity.

The indigenous knowledge used by these local communities in the preservation of the ecological balance in their land has become a source of knowledge not only for members of the academe, but also for agencies and workers in government who want to use the same techniques for the promotion of ecological conservation in other parts of the country.

Vibal Foundation. Vibal Foundation, the brainchild of the leading educational publisher in the country, Vibal Publishing House, works to strengthen historical and cultural awareness to enable Filipinos to express cultural values and perspectives more powerfully in a globalized world. Books in print and e-book formats are not the only products that showcase Philippine culture. Among their other programs that promote Filipino culture are as follows: 1. **Audio Filipino** which is a comprehensive collection of audio recordings documenting the Filipino experience. It includes thousands of recordings from every region and every genre of spoken word and music: songs, speeches, tales, biographical narrative, radio broadcasts, poetry, epic, folklore—providing a

documentary aural history of the Philippines from the early twentieth century to the present. 2. ***Museo-Aklatan ng Impreso at Awit***(MAIA), envisioned to be the first library and museum of popular culture in the Philippines. 3. ***Local Arts and History Initiative*** (LAHI) aims to take a holistic view to encourage a convergence of nature and culture, people and place, and of the past and future. 4. ***Arte Filipino books and Arts Education***where workshops and symposia in museums and schools are conducted to encourage the appreciation and understanding of Philippine art, and its history, context, and meaning.

Kaloob Philippine Music and Dance Ministry. An excellent example of intentional effort to carefully study, document and share philippine indigenous music, folk dances and rituals, the Kaloob Philippine Music and Dance Ministry aims to employ the power of indigenous expressions in enriching the national identity of Filipinos. The founder of this ministry believes that gathering, documenting and developing indigenous cultural heritage such as music and dance will not only be useful for the Filipino church but can also serve as chronicles of culture and history for Filipinos to look back into and for the rest of the world to see. KALOOB has extensive cultural research of almost half of the country's 110 known indigenous groups, from the Cordilleras, down to the frontier of Tawi-Tawi, the land of the gentle Sama Di Laut. Among these are documented and recorded researches of more than 200 dances, musical pieces, folk literature, chanted epics and rituals.

Integrating Local Knowledge in Philippine Education

The Philippines has recently embarked on a transition project to implement the K to 12 educational programs and one of the salient points of this program is the contextualization of learning through local knowledge (Republic of the Philippines website). Early childhood education by universal kindergarten will be taught in the learner's mother tongue. The curriculum is made more relevant to learners through the use of examples, activities, songs, poems, stories and illustrations based on local culture, history and reality. Proficiency building from Grades 1 to 12 will be built using the mother tongue which will be used as the foundation for students to learn English and Filipino in the higher grade levels.

Instruction can be considered a means of cultural transmission which is defined as the transmission of preferences, beliefs, and norms of behavior which is the result of cultural interactions across and within generations (Bisin and Verdier 1). Acculturation and enculturation are two major concepts in cultural transmission. Redfield et al (in Kim, Ahn and Lam 1) defines acculturation as "phenomena which results when groups of individuals sharing different cultures come into continuous first-hand contact, with subsequent changes in the original culture patterns of either or both groups." Graves (1967) refers to psychological

acculturation to describe the effects of the acculturation process in the individual level in terms of changing attitudes, values, and identity as a result with being in contact with other cultures.

Enculturation is the “process of socialization into and maintenance of the norms of one’s indigenous culture including its salient ideas, concepts, and values (Herskovits 1949 in Kim et al 26).” Kim believes that enculturation better represents the concept of cultural maintenance, the extent cultural identity and characteristics are considered important, than in the bilinear model of acculturation which it is associated with together with contact and participation or the extent an individual becomes involved in other cultural groups. Tishman, Jay and Perkins (1992) identify enculturation as a model of teaching in thinking dispositions. They define *thinking dispositions* as ongoing tendencies that guide intellectual behavior such as the disposition to be broad and adventurous, toward sustained intellectual curiosity, to clarify and seek understanding, to be planful and strategic, to be intellectually careful, to seek and evaluate reasons and to be metacognitive. Thinking dispositions are comprised of abilities, sensitivities and inclinations.

Abilities refer to the capabilities and skills required to carry through on the behavior. *Sensitivities* refer to alertness to appropriate occasions for exhibiting the behavior. *Inclinations* refer to the tendency to actually behave in a certain way (1992).

For Tishman et al, the concept of enculturation can serve as a guide for organizing teaching occurring in three mutually reinforcing ways: through cultural exemplars, cultural interactions and direct instruction in cultural knowledge and activities. Cultural exemplars “consist of artifacts and people in the environment modeling or otherwise exemplifying culturally meaningful activities and values (1992).” Cultural interactions involve participation in culturally meaningful activities with others, including instructors and peers. Finally, direct instruction involves the straightforward teaching of culturally important concepts, vocabularies, activities and skills.

Information and communication technologies (ICTs) have allowed education, researchers and educators to experiment with models and frameworks to achieve learning goals for the 21st century digital learners. Social constructivism is a dominant concept in 21st century learning. It is a learning theory which emphasizes on the collaborative nature of learning and the importance of cultural and social context. Cognitive functions originate and are considered products of social interaction where learning is done through assimilation of new knowledge by learners who are integrated into a knowledge community (University College Dublin website). Web 2.0 or social media applications such as blogging, microblogging and social networking sites are able

to provide learning environments that create opportunities for maximized social through learning interpersonal reaction.

The following is a lesson exemplar that illustrates how local knowledge appreciation is integrated in instruction through the use of digital tools using a format prescribed by AUDRN in its “Teaching Local Knowledge in the Digital Age” workshops. Social networking site, Pinterest was used as a tool for students to capture and curate Cavite consumer culture examples on the web and offline.

Table 1: Lesson exemplar of Cavite Consumer Culture using Pinterest.

Topic	The Impact of Culture on Consumer Decision Making
Target Learners	Sophomore Marketing Students with basic knowledge of the principles in Marketing
Learning Objectives	At the end of this module, students will be able to: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● explain how culture affects the consumption behavior of a target segment; ● identify the typical characteristics, meanings, and behavioral tendencies shared by people in a subculture. ● create a pinterest board on the consumer culture of your province illustrating student insight on one’s local culture.
Teaching Strategies	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Exposition of topic and important concepts in the module 2. Processing through classroom discussion and online assignment identifying cultural cues found in marketing strategies such as product packaging or message strategy in television advertising. 3. Collaborative research and curation of an online bulletin board showcasing consumer culture in students’ hometowns in the province of Cavite, Philippines.
Student Activities	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Student form groups in class to share with peers examples of consumer culture in their hometowns. This interaction is extended online via discussion forum. 2. Students are assigned to groups who create pinterest boards on “Cavite Consumer Culture.” Each student is required to research examples of shopping habits as well as leisure activities of people in their communities and post at least twenty (20 pins) consisting of an image, illustration or video which can either be an original creation or found on the internet and posted with a caption providing details about the cultural exemplar identifying local knowledge examples. Students are also required to promote, view and comment on the posts of their classmates.
Assessment	<p>Students will be asked to participate in an online discussion forum with the guide questions:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. How important is the understanding of local culture in the success of the implementation of a marketing strategy? Cite examples. 2. How can marketing professionals achieve sales and marketing objectives and still manage to promote the appreciation of local culture? <p>An assessment rubric was also presented for the Pinterest board.</p>

Criteria	Beginning	Developing	Conversant	Advanced
<p>Openness (to personal growth)</p> <p>as evidenced by the variety and quality of pins and the manner of describing pin content.</p>	<p>Demonstrates little or no interest</p> <p>or willingness to learning more about one's own or other cultures.</p> <p>Has little or no awareness of one's own assumptions, judgments and biases.</p>	<p>Is open to opportunities to engage in experiences to broaden understanding of one's own culture and the culture of others.</p> <p>Expresses openness to interactions with one's own and other cultures.</p>	<p>Seeks opportunities and knowledge to answer questions to broaden understanding of one's own culture and the culture of others.</p> <p>Begins to initiate, engage, develop, and value interactions with members of one's own and other cultures.</p>	<p>Consistently seeks and integrates experiences that broaden understanding of one's own culture and the culture of others.</p> <p>Initiates, engages, develops, and values interactions with one's own and the culture of others.</p> <p>Demonstrates ability to assess the impact of interactions.</p>
<p>Cultural self-awareness (obtaining knowledge of self and others)</p>	<p>Demonstrates little or no awareness of one's own assumptions, judgments and/or biases about self and others.</p>	<p>Begins to identify own assumptions, judgments and/or biases about self and others.</p>	<p>Articulates the influence of one's own assumptions, judgments and/or biases during interactions with one's own culture and the culture of others.</p>	<p>Evaluates one's own assumptions, judgments and/or biases about one's own culture and the culture of others.</p> <p>Demonstrates ability to assess the impact of assumptions, judgments, and/or biases related to one's own and other cultures.</p>

Cultural worldview frameworks (obtaining knowledge of self and others)	Demonstrates little or no understanding of social, relationship, or other dynamics important to one's own culture and members of other cultures.	Begins to demonstrate some understanding of social, relationships, or other dynamics important to one's own culture and members of other cultures.	Articulates understanding of social, relationship, or other dynamics important to one's own culture and members of other cultures.	Examines, compares and contrasts one's own culture with the culture of others. Demonstrates ability to assess the impact of assumptions, judgments, and/or biases related to one's own and other cultures.
Use of technological resources	The group uses minimal requisite technology to gain access to individuals or resources from the target culture.	With substantial guidance, the group uses technology to gain access to individuals or resources from the target culture; however, these efforts are generally motivated by course requirements.	The group used technological applications to gain access to individuals or resources from the target culture; these efforts are sometimes self-initiated and intrinsically motivated.	The group used a wide variety of technological applications to gain access to individuals or resources from the target culture; these efforts are generally motivated by interest and exceed course requirements.

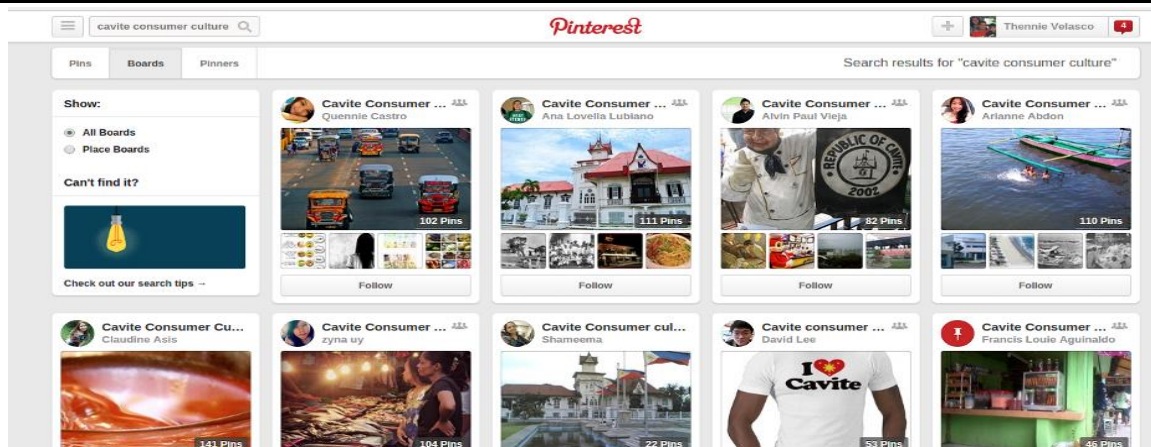


Figure 1: Sample Boards of students in Cavite Consumer Culture posted on Pinterest.

Larong Pinoy on weebly is an interesting collaborative work among teenagers 15-16 years of age who call themselves the Pinoy Republic group. Their objective in setting up the simple website is “to promote nationalism, strengthen family ties, involve the community in worthwhile activities, and keep the children in school through games and sports.” As young as they are, they hope to bring back the larong pinoy in the country. The site has compilations of Filipino games complete with photos and short description of how they are being played. It also has an interesting section comparing “healthy games” versus computer games and their pros and cons. One can even take a test to determine whether you are suffering from computer games addiction!



Figure 2. Screenshot of Larong Pinoy weebly website.

In a more formal academic setting, an active collaborator of AUDRN, the Silliman University, instituted a program, the “Preservation of Local Knowledge and Indigenous Practices in Coastal Resource Management using Digital Tools” as a move to preserve and incorporate local knowledge in teaching and learning environmental management practices particularly coastal resource management (Marcial).

Conclusions and Recommendations

Local knowledge appreciation among teenagers can be creatively incorporated in lesson planning through the use of common Web 2.0 tools which they are very much familiar with. Online collaboration tools can be used to co-curate local knowledge data bases which can be done both by teachers and students alike. Educators should be intentional in incorporating local knowledge appreciation in their teaching style. The use of online resources such as blogs, microblogs and social networking sites can be effectively used for this purpose. Likewise, students must be given ample opportunities for participation in online

discourses and forums, in critiquing literary online pieces.

Future educational endeavors may include the development of Massive Open Online Courses (MOOC) that focus on local knowledge. Likewise, TEDTalk type series on various Local knowledge topics can also be created and used in schools.

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THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE CONCEPT OF YOUTH IN SOUTH EAST ASIA: ANALYZING ASEAN

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THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE CONCEPT OF YOUTH IN SOUTH EAST ASIA: ANALYZING ASEAN

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Abstract

This paper aims to portray the development of the concept of youth in South East Asia by analyzing youth-related ASEAN documents. The concept of youth is neither clear cut nor self-evident. Rather, “youth” is a discourse which reflects the power relation among actors involved. In ASEAN case, this paper argues that the concept of youth is reflecting the domination of old generation over young generation (Yudhistira, 2010; Aries, 1962). This domination aims to transform the young generation’s life based on the values held by the old generation. Then, the old generation—who is *also* the elite—formalizes those values into the documents this paper aims to analyze. The old generation positions, both as the holder of power and truth definition, this paper argues, diminish ASEAN’s capacity to embrace the indie culture since indie culture is characterized by its strife for autonomy; including the autonomy for the invention of self-identity and values.

Keyword: Youth, Power Relation, ASEAN, Indie Culture

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Introduction

The concept of "youth" is not a single and stable concept. Youth—which is often understood as opposed to "adult"—is always socially constructed (Pressler, 2010). Aries' seminal work (1962) shows us that before the 10th century, society in Western Europe did not recognize the distinction between children and adults. In that era, children conceived merely as adults who had a smaller body. The different mode of thinking between children and adults are, therefore, not realized. In the 14th century, children began to be understood differently. Adults began to see the sweetness inside the children. Children became a source of relaxation for the adults. In the 17th century, Aries argues, this social construction was shifting. The behavior of pampered children was no longer viewed as normal. Rather, their behavior was actually seen as a source of imperfections. Consequently, coddling the children was no longer allowed. Children should be educated and disciplined in order to fix that imperfection. This treatment was needed so that the children could finally become an adult; a perfect man.

Aries' work tells us one important point: how society understands the concept of youth will relate to how youth is required to behave. This paper is basically trying to find the relationship between the two—the social construction of youth, on the one hand, and the assumptions of the youth 'ideal' behavior implicit in that social construction, on the other hand—in ASEAN documents. Through this tracking, we will understand several things as follows. First, how does ASEAN understand youth? Secondly, how does ASEAN want youth to behave? What does ASEAN expect of its youth? Thirdly—perhaps this is the most important point—what role does ASEAN give to its youth?

In order to answer the questions above, this paper will be divided into several parts. The first part is the 'Introduction'. The second part contains the theoretical sketch on how youth are defined and understood in a society. The third section contains the profile of youth in several Southeast Asian countries. The fourth part reviews the concept of youth as stated in ASEAN documents. This paper will be ended with a conclusion.

Youth: A Theoretical Sketch

Youth can be understood by using the 'external relations' or 'internal relations' approach. By using the external relations approach, the definition of youth is built on several criteriums. The most commonly used criterion is age. UNESCO, for example, defines youth as those persons between the ages of 15 and 24 years. Indonesia defines youth as those persons between the ages of 16-30 years. The same age range is used by Vietnam. Meanwhile, 15-30 years age range is used by Cambodia, Laos, and the Philippines. A longer age range is used by Malaysia, i.e.

15-40 years. The same standard, 15-40 years old, is also used by Brunei Darussalam. Myanmar uses a much narrower age range in defining youth, i.e. 16 to 18 years. Singapore has two definitions of youth. According to the Children and Young Persons Act, youth is someone between the ages of 14 and 16 years; and, according to the National Youth Council, youth is those persons between 15-35 years. Meanwhile, Thailand defines youth as those persons between 18 and 25 years.

The second approach is the 'internal relations' approach. In this approach, the concept of "youth" can only be understood in relation to the concept of "adult". The youth is defined as youth as long as youth is not an adult; and vice versa. The consequence of this approach is that we can not define youth using several rigid criteria as external relations approach does. Instead, we must recognize that youth and adults are connected in a constant effort to mutually define each other. However, the power of youth and adults are not equal. Adult is more dominant in defining who youth is (Wyn and White, 1997).

This power inequality is built on several claims made by the adult. Claims are built on the assumptions that the youth is an imperfect creature. The youth is seen as person being in a state of "becoming". The youth will still be in that condition until he reaches the point of arrival: maturity. Based on this view, therefore, the adult is seen as those persons who finally reaches the point of arrival. The adult is no longer "becoming". The adult is "complete", "perfect", and "fully human". This view has been deeply entrenched in the history of human civilization. In addition, this view does not only exist in the West, but also in the East as well (Lam, 2013; Wyn dan White, 1997).

In classical Greek philosophy, we may find the thought of Plato and Aristotle who understand youth as an imperfect creature. Plato argues that youth is lacking of reasoning ability. Meanwhile, Aristotle argues that the youth is always looking for self-pleasure. Other Western thinkers, John Stuart Mill, argues that the youth should not receive a freedom since the youth does not have a sufficient level of maturity (Lam, 2013). In the tradition of Confucian thought, the claim that youth is not as perfect as adults is also found. The youth is considered to be in the process of becoming a perfect human until he reaches adulthood. Therefore, in the Confucian tradition, social hierarchy, among others, is based on age (West, 2007).

Table 1: The distinction between youth and adult (Wyn and White, 1997)

No.	Youth	Adult
1.	Not adult/adolescent	Adult/grown up
2.	Becoming	Arrived
3.	Presocial self	Identity is fixed
4.	Powerless and vulnerable	Powerful and strong
5.	Less responsible	Responsible
6.	Dependent	Independent
7.	Ignorant	Knowledgeable
8.	Risky behaviours	Considered behaviour
9.	Rebellious	Conformist
10.	Reliant	Autonomous

This view gives the adult an opportunity to dominate the youth. The imperfection owned by youth, in the perspective of an adult, should be improved. Adult, who is assumed to have reached a higher level of perfection, should use his experience to guide the youth. The adult has the right to define what youth should do. Furthermore, adult has the right to interpret reality for youth. In order to protect youth, adult also has the right to restrict the behavior of the youth. Assumed that the youth has no sufficient knowledge and experience to make decisions, adult is also entitled to restrict the participation of youth in the issues, that, even, related to youth itself. In summary, we can measure how far adult exercises their power on the youth by looking at any action that may or may not be performed by the youth (Leccardi dan Ruspini, 1996; Alanen, 2011).

In his domination over the youth, adult is actually internalizing the values he believed to the younger generation. In order to understand this proposition, we need to understand what "generation" is. Generation is a group of people who born within a relatively same era and has a similar interpretation on their life experience. Therefore, the difference between two generations is not only including age differences, but also value and belief differences (Alanen, 2011). As mentioned previously, the adult has the privilege to do this action since adult is considered as a person who has reached the final stage of human development.

The relationship between the state and the youth can also be read in terms of the relationship between the adult and the youth. The reason is: the state is controlled by the adult. Therefore, the state's perspective on the youth is often not much different from the adult's perspective on youth. Generally, the state saw the youth as a future investment. There are two meanings of this view. *First*, the youth is prepared to strengthen the state's competitiveness in the future global economy (Clarke, 2010). In the classical view, youth phase is the phase in which a person is prepared to work (Leccardi, 1996). Meanwhile, the adult phase and

the old phase are the phase when a person is working and resting respectively. In Jane Lewis' language, the youth is prepared as "the future citizen worker" (Lewis, 2006; Lister, 2006). *Secondly*, youth is designed as the heir of the values believed by older generation. Youth is an agent that supports the society's imagination about its future. Therefore, the behavior of the youth which is not in line with the views of the older generation will grow an anxiety about the future of community among the old generation. Henry Giroux (2009), in his study of the youth in United States, for example, found that the youth is expected to be the heir of democratic values believed by the old generation.

Although the adult is in a favorable position compared to the youth, it would be a mistake to think that the youth is merely a passive agent. Instead, the youth still have a space to get out from the adult domination. The youth have the opportunity to write a "biography" or self-identity free from adult domination (see Lash, 2002; Beck, 2002; Beck 1994; Giddens, 2008). Major obstacles faced by the youth in writing his own biography is his economic dependence on the adult. Therefore, for youth, it is not entirely free to write an autonomous biography.

In this section, we have understood that the youth and the adult is mutually constituting each other. In that relationship, the adult has a large potential for power to alter the youth life. However, understanding youth simply as a passive actor is a mistake. The youth, however, still have a chance to free himself.

How will this theoretical framework be used to understand ASEAN? This paper argues that the representation of youth in the ASEAN documents is much influenced by the views of the adult and not the views of the youth. To do this, this paper will trace the social construction of the concept of the youth in Southeast Asia. From that point, this paper will separate the view adopted by the older generation and the younger generation, and generalize it to the realm of ASEAN.

The Youth in Southeast Asia

According to the report written by UNYouth, the youth in Southeast Asia are still dominated by the old generation. The youth are facing a cultural barrier so that their voices are not heard by the old generation and stakeholder. The participation of youth in the decision-making process is also limited. The tendency of the youth to be actively involved in social and political movement is also perceived negatively by the old generation. A youth activist is usually seen as a troublemaker rather than a social reformist.

The cultural barrier departs from the assumption that the youth do not have the capability to make an appropriate decision. Therefore, the youth should let the old generation for themselves. This barrier is evident in several countries such

as Myanmar, Cambodia, Vietnam, Malaysia, Indonesia, and the Phillippines. In Myanmar, the youth are understood as those persons with limited knowledge and ability in constructing a logic argument. According to a research conducted by West (2007), this social construction is not precise. The youth do not actually posses a limited knowledge or ability. Rather, the youth do not posses a sufficient opportunity to express their argument. The same tendency is also evident in Cambodia where the old generation's authority to make a decision for the community is not even questionable. According to UNDP, only 8% of the Cambodia youth population who are involved in the decision making process (Chak, 2012). In the Phillippines, a respect to authority is also a dominant value (Ogena, 1999). The paternalistic state in Vietnam emphasizes the importance of the citizens obedience toward the state. This value also alters on how the relationship between the youth and adult is conducted (Theis, 2007).

In the following subsections, we will have a deeper discussion on how the relationship between state, youth and adult is conducted. This paper will take Malaysia and Indonesia as examples.

1. Malaysia

According to the National Youth Development Policy (1997), youth in Malaysia are defined as those persons who are between the age of 15 and 40 years. However, the youth development program will be focused only on those persons who are between the age of 18 and 25 years. Among the other groups in the community, the youth occupies a dominant position in terms of population.

In NYDP document, youth is projected to be the future successor of Malaysia. The potential of youth, if used properly, will help Malaysia achieves social, economic and political development. According to the NYPD, in order to meet that missions, the youth should acquire a strong moral and spiritual beliefs. The youth must also be independent, responsible and embrace patriotism. In addition, the young generation of Malaysia also should be "harmonious". NYDP will conduct training in a variety of sectors, ranging from the knowledge, skills, and networks to morals building. Interestingly, such development will only be done in accordance with the needs of Malaysian nation-building. The development of youth organizations should also be harmonious with activities planned by society" (NYPD, 1997: 5.4 points.)

Malaysia also incorporate the youth development theme in the 10th Malaysia Plan (2011). The contents of the document are not much different with the NYPD. In that document, the youth is seen as an important part of the future development of Malaysia, particularly in the economic field. Therefore, the state attempts to give the youth the skills, values and a positive mindset so that they

will be able to adapt to the global market economy. In addition, the state tried to foster a sense of patriotism in the hearts of the youth so that the youth will grow in the spirit of Malaysia solidarity.

Based on the policies taken by the Malaysian above, we can see how the state determines the ideal model of Malaysian youth. The state is defining how youth should be. The youth, in the mentioned policies, must have morality and spirituality. Youth must be skilled and knowledgeable so that they can compete in the global economy. Younger generation should not provoke conflict. Instead, they should be "harmonious".

In summary, the state attempts to internalize the values that guarantee the continuity of the society. These views represent the values of the older generation. In one occasion, Datuk Gan (in Daniels, 2005) , one of the local chairman of the Malaysian Chinese Association, spoke:

With a program of cultural rights, the greatness of each race is presented in our Midst. Moreover, this can influence and aid our youth towards traditional culture more fully comprehending at a time in the which more and more youth are coming to prefer music and dance from Western custom. There are Those who Consider tobe lost tradition. Truly, traditional culture holds a high artistic value and can not wind up being lost after coming through such a long period of time Because we will defend and protect our culture that has come so far, traditions that we have inherited from the distant past.

These words tell us how the older generation views the younger generation. The older generation saw the youth as the persons who give an excessive attention to the Western culture so that they forget their own culture. This excessive attention is rooted from the high interaction between the youth and technology. Therefore, the young people need to be educated in a certain way that inherit the genuine Malaysian values.

Unlike the older generation who understand technology and information flows in a suspicious manner, the youth actually conceive technology positively. Having a gadget, being successful and going to university are three most wanted things by the Malaysian youth. Watching television, listening to music and surfing the internet also become the most preferred youth activities when they have a free time. However, like their older generation, the youth of Malaysia argued that upholding the tradition is still crucial (Suryana, et. al. 2010). Nevertheless, a different view emerges if we look at a number of the flowering youth movement in Malaysia. Unlike the older generation who emphasizes

harmony, a number of youth, such as those who incorporated in Bersih 2.0, attempts to get out from the tradition by arranging demonstrations.

Thus, in the case of Malaysia, we can conclude that both the young and old generation in Malaysia are working for the good future of Malaysia. But, those generations differ in answering: how the good future should be achieved? The older generation believes that the good future could be achieved by maintaining the tradition and stability. The older generation tends to be suspicious of technology and street actions. The younger generation, based on the survey, agree with the older generation that traditional values must be. However, the younger generation do not see that the engagement with the technology will automatically make the traditional values disappear. Malaysian younger generation also seems to not agree with the older generation in terms of the necessity of Malaysians to behave in a "harmonious" manner. In other words, young generation of Malaysia argues that the improvement of the situation can be done in a non-harmonious manner.

2. Indonesia

There are eight youth-related laws in Indonesia. Every law has its own definition on who youth is. Law No. 40 of 2009 defines youth as those person between the age of 16 and 30 years, and is entering a critical period of growth and development. In that law, youth is expected to become the heir of the values based on the Constitution of 1945 and Pancasila. The youth is also expected to be responsible, critical, idealistic, innovative, progressive, dynamic, reformist and futuristic. According to the Law No. 40 In 2009, the ideal version of youth is those who (1) has a professionalism and readiness to face the labor market (2) has the ability to advocate critical issues in the society.

Law No. 40 of 2009 is written in the spirit to produce new young leaders to regenerate the existing national leaders. State views the young generation as a generation that is not interested in the political issue and the future of the nation. According to Budiman (2002), this condition is caused by the New Order policy that is producing a large-scale apolitical floating mass. In Budiman's observation, the majority of the students who joined the 1998 reformation were not politically active. Rather, they only understood the demonstration as a popular trend.

However, in practice, the state is not supporting the second ideal picture of youth. Budiman's (2012) research argues that the state tends to demonize the youth for their political activism. Youth's critique toward the state is responded by stating that such activisms are contrary to the genuine value of Indonesia. This is done to liquidate criticisms made by youth. By framing youth action as something that is not in line with the morality of society, the critic itself will

become irrelevant. This scheme is clearly visible in the self-Immolation case of Sondra Hutagalung, a young man who burned himself in front of the palace. His death is successfully framed by the state; from a political protest into a deviant act. Rather than being seen as a social reformer, youth activist is seen as a troublemaker.

This kind of social construction departs from the idea of 'familial-state' introduced by the New Order. By assuming that the state is a big family, youth is subordinated under the authorities that is analogous to the parents in a family. In the Java family, parents have the opportunity to guide their children so that they can become fully human. The indicator of being mature is the ability to respect and obey the older generation. The conflict, therefore, must be resolved in a harmonious way; as every family does (Yudhistira, 2010).

State seems to be more interested in preparing young people to be able to compete competitively in the global economy. On several occasions, Mohammad Nuh, Minister of Education and Culture, stressed that in order to be "the best in the world", Indonesia should have educated, skilled, and competitive young workforce. Thus, Indonesia will cease to be a supplier of cheap labor.

In the perspective of youth, the state preference to prepare them as the part of the workforce make them unable to think critically. Although Law No. 40 of 2009 states that the youth are expected to be sensitive to their society's problem, the state is not supporting them to develop this role. Youth are rarely involved in the process of decision making (Ramadhan, 2013). They are only involved in technical matters. The cultural barrier is considered as the responsible factor for this phenomenon, that is, the assumption that the youth are not mature enough to make their own decisions.

The Development of the Concept of Youth

The concept of youth began to gain ASEAN attention in 1983. In 1983, the foreign ministers of ASEAN countries met in Bangkok to discuss this theme. During the meeting, ASEAN agreed to develop youth capabilities through various collaborations, including with NGOs. This development was important since the youth was understood for their central role in ASEAN.

In the 1983 meeting, ASEAN emphasized the importance of the ideal conditions for the growth of youth. Without the appropriate conditions and environment, it would be difficult for youth to develop. In addition, youth must also be a part of state policy. Youth were encouraged to be engaged in these policies. ASEAN also felt the need to prepare jobs for youth, as well as providing training and education for them. In addition, to strengthen the competitiveness of youth, youth should be educated to be 'self-discipline'.

In 1997, ASEAN's views on this topic had not changed much. ASEAN agreed to develop the youth in the spirit of peace, progress and solidarity. ASEAN had a more obvious reason in doing this. Citing the results of the Kuala Lumpur meeting, "[T]he youth of ASEAN represent a large proportion of the ASEAN population and are a vast and dynamic resource for national and regional development". ASEAN also re-emphasized that the active participation of youth is needed. The novelty that appeared in this document was the views of ASEAN on the relation between globalization and youth. This document states that globalization has a certain impact on the youth.

In understanding globalization, ASEAN believes that the moral and spiritual side of the youth should be improved and strengthened. In addition, youth should also be provided with the skills that enable them to increase the regions competitiveness. To support this, ASEAN would attempt to increase youth awareness about ASEAN, perform human resource development, and promote the ASEAN values. In order to implement this strategy, ASEAN was seeking to strengthen regional solidarity while, at the same time, strengthening the common vision of ASEAN.

ASEAN's views about the relationship between youth and globalization was intensified in Yangon meeting (2000). The meeting was arranged specifically to prepare the youth in facing globalization. ASEAN agreed to strengthen the spiritual and moral bases of its youth. ASEAN cultural identity would also be strengthened. In addition, ASEAN was also committed to prepare youth for economic liberalization. Interestingly, ASEAN also encouraged youth activism to help the vulnerable and marginalized communities.

Three years after the meeting in Yangon, a meeting was held in Manila. On this occasion, globalization was the main theme. However, in contrast to Yangon, the Manila meeting stated that the major concern of globalization was the youth unemployment. The strategy formulated in Manila was focused on this problem.

Based on this Manila meeting, ASEAN, tried to prepare the youth so that they would be confident in facing the globalization. In contrast to previous meetings that explored the critical role of education in preparing youth, the Manila meeting emphasized the central role of entrepreneurs. Therefore, ASEAN attempted to build an entrepreneurial culture and support young entrepreneur networking in Southeast Asia. However, the role of education in improving youth skills was still given attention. To achieve this mission, educational institutions were expected to provide skills that could improve employability. Moreover, in line with the results of the Yangon meeting, youth were also expected to be active in social activities. However, in this case, there was a big difference between the views of Yangon meeting and the Manila meeting. In Yangon meeting, youth were

expected to be actively defend the marginalized communities. While the Manila meeting, youth social activities merely designed to supplement the efforts of state.

Based on the descriptions above, we can see that there is a process of continuity and change in the history of the concept of youth as understood by ASEAN.

First, we can see that the youth is always understood as an important entity in this region. However, the reason why the youth is considered to be important is varied. The 1983 document did not explicitly describe this reason. A relatively clear and obvious reasons appeared at the meeting of 1997. The meeting concluded that the youth was considered important because the youth represented a significant proportion in composing the population. Therefore, the youth was a resource for national development of a country. This view was inherited by the 2000 meeting of Yangon. In contrast to the Kuala Lumpur meeting, Yangon meeting understood the youth as an ASEAN investment. Youth were a core resource for ASEAN to bring progress and prosperity in the region: "that youth constitute the core resource for ASEAN's prosperity and progress in the new millennium, particularly subject in addressing the challenges of rapid global and regional integration arising from more intensive trade liberalisation and the expanding use of information and communications technologies (ICT)". This view was re-emerged in the 2003, Manila meeting. Youth was seen as "vital human resource". Based on the description above, the youth is understood as an important entity to support the national interest and purpose of the ASEAN countries. The awareness that the youth could be used as a resource to achieve the ideals that had already determined by the state began to emerge in the Kuala Lumpur meeting in 1997.

Secondly, at first, globalization is seen by ASEAN as frightening specter. ASEAN countries, therefore, seeks to equip the youth with moral values and a strong spirituality. Globalization, as understood by ASEAN, is equal to Westernization. That is why ASEAN seeks to protect its youth by equipping them with traditional values. This perspective is still surviving today. The older generation still laments the fading traditional values. However, at the same time, the older generation also took an ambiguous decision. ASEAN attempts to avoid the exposure of Western, but, ASEAN also encourages its youth to enter the globalization and compete in it.

Third, ASEAN also shifts its strategy in facing the globalization. This shift is particularly evident after ASEAN realizes that unemployment is the major problem. In 1983, ASEAN argues that the youth must be equipped with sufficient skills to compete in the global market economy. In the end, this view is slightly revised with a stronger emphasis on the necessity of the youth to become an entrepreneur.

Fourth, there is a discontinuity in ASEAN's views on social activism. In the beginning, ASEAN encourage the youth to be active in social activism. Youth are expected to be actively involved in supporting and advocating the marginalized groups. However, this view is changed. Although ASEAN is still expecting the youth to be active in social activities, youth activism is now directed merely to a complement the state policy.

This paper argues that, in the ASEAN documents, the values of the old generation is more dominant compared to the values of the young generation. This is apparent in the descriptions above. Based on the discussion in section 3, we have classified that, in Southeast Asia, the older generation tends to be: (1) see globalization as a negative exposure of Western values and (2) hold the conservative tradition. Meanwhile, the younger generation is: (1) more open to globalization (2) break the tradition, including in doing the social activism.

The values of the adult generation, in this case, influence the ASEAN vision on youth more than the values of the young generation do. First, there is a great tendency in ASEAN documents to see globalization in a negative way. Therefore, ASEAN seeks to give youth the moral and spiritual base. As mentioned before, this value is a dominant value of the old generation. For the youth, globalization should not be understood negatively for its effect in altering the traditional value. Instead, the anxiety of youth in globalization is departing from the feeling of uncertainty in seeing the future. The young generation and old generation are, therefore, having a different orientation in understanding the globalization. The values of the old generations are more influencing the ASEAN manuscript than the values of the young generations do.

Secondly, there are strong nuance of conservatism in the ASEAN manuscripts. In several number of ASEAN countries, the youth have a potential force to make a social reform. As happened in Indonesia and Malaysia, the youth take a different attitude towards the authorities than the old generations expect. ASEAN encouraged youth to strengthen their social activism to defend the marginalized and vulnerable. This view was revised later. Youth social activism is limited. Activism, according to ASEAN, is seen as a supplement to state policy. That is to say, ASEAN does not see the possibilities that the youth and the state relationship will become contradictory. ASEAN eliminate the possibility that the youth, in the name of the marginalized and vulnerable, will stand in opposition to the state. ASEAN's paradigm is a paradigm that is also hold by several of its members. In Indonesia and Malaysia, the youth are not expected to provoke an open conflict. Rather, youth are asked to resolve conflicts through peaceful means and manners. It is, on the one hand, reflects the conservatism of the older generation and, on the other hand, reflects the desire of the older generation to liquidate any forms of youth protest. Why does this paradigm arise? ASEAN is

quite explicit in stating the reason. It is because the youth are not considered mature enough to think and make decisions. As stated by ASEAN in 1983, youth should be educated in such a way in order to build a 'self-discipline'. It means that ASEAN understood the youth as an entity that is unable to govern themselves. Therefore, the youth does not have the ability to make the right decision.

Conclusion: A Possibility of Indie Culture?

This paper concludes that ASEAN's views on youth is dominated by the views of the older generation and not the young generation itself. In summary, this is indicated by the presence of two dominant values implicit in the ASEAN's concept of youth, that is: (1) a suspicious view on globalization and (2) a tendency to maintain conservatism and stabilism.

How does the relationship between this social construction and the possibility of indie culture? According to Newman (2009), indie culture arises as a response to the mainstream culture. In contrast to the homogeneous and massively produced mainstream culture, indie culture is personal. In order to strive for a more personal and self-written biography, a certain space for autonomy is needed. For youth, this space is, among others, provided by the old generation (Biggart and Walther, 1996). Unfortunately, this space is limited in the ASEAN's concept of youth. The spirit of conservatism and the tendency to maintain stability are dominant values in the ASEAN's concept of youth. The possibility for youth to differ from the mainstream culture is, therefore, limited. However, this does not mean that the youth has no capacity to break the old norms. It only means that the indie culture will not arise as an effect of the ASEAN's policy.**

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IS AWARENESS OF THE ASEAN COMMUNITY SPREADING BEYOND THE ELITE? — AN ANALYSIS OF ASEAN-RELATED INDONESIAN TWEETS

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Abstract

ASEAN policymakers and analysts have long argued the need for citizens of ASEAN member states to be aware and supportive of the idea of an ASEAN community if the organization is to achieve its goals. Previous surveys have shown considerable awareness of ASEAN among students at elite universities throughout the region. Given that many ASEAN citizens have become active users of social media, analysis of online media offers a way of assessing public attitudes to ASEAN.

We analyzed more than 500,000 ASEAN-related Tweets in Indonesian collected over eight months starting in November 2013. We identified and categorized 250 users tweeting about ASEAN who are most “influential” in terms of retweets, mentions and numbers of followers. We performed social network analysis of retweet and mention links between these users. Our main findings were as follows:

1. About half of these 250 most influential users are individuals and communities of individuals. From this point of view, communication about ASEAN is clearly not confined to state actors or media organizations.
2. Communication between Twitter users regarding ASEAN centers on elite Indonesian universities. This suggests that while Indonesia’s future elite will be familiar with ASEAN, a question-mark remains over the extent of wider civic engagement in the ASEAN Community project.
3. Communication between Twitter users regarding ASEAN in our dataset centers on three regional cities, not Jakarta. Further research is necessary to establish whether there is a significant difference in the way ASEAN is communicated about in the capital and the regions.

Keywords: Twitter, Indonesia, social network analysis, ASEAN Community

Introduction

Background

When it was established in 1967, the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) was essentially an inward-looking regional organization whose main role was the establishment of mutual trust among young sovereign states (Sudo). The Cold War confrontation prompted ASEAN to declare its neutrality in 1971, and from the mid-1970s onwards ASEAN member states engaged in an effort to develop their own regional identity. These efforts culminated in the adoption of the “ASEAN Vision 2020” in 1997; this envisioned that by 2020, the entire Southeast Asia would be an ASEAN Community bound by a common regional identity. The ASEAN community was to comprise three main pillars: the ASEAN Political-Security Community (APSC), the ASEAN Economic Community (AEC) and the ASEAN Socio-Cultural Community (ASCC). In 2007, ASEAN brought forward the target date for realization of this vision to 2015 (Asean.org).

Considering how Southeast Asia is composed of countries with diverse cultures, languages, and religions, scholars and commentators have expressed doubts about the feasibility of this vision of making the region into one community (e.g. Amador, Jonsson). One of the largest challenges in this respect is how to engage the general populations of the member states in the idea of an ASEAN community (e.g. Amador, Benny and Abdullah). This issue was raised by Rodolfo C. Severino, Secretary General of ASEAN from 1998 to 2002. Severino argued that if the member states’ citizens do not believe that the community building idea will benefit all layers of society, it will be difficult to attain and maintain stable economic and political integration systems (quoted by Amador 31). Simply put, establishing the people-centred community mentioned in the ASEAN Socio-Cultural Community (ASCC) Blueprint (5) will not be possible without engaging the people.

One question that arises when we consider popular engagement in the community building project is the question of how far and in what way awareness of ASEAN has penetrated into society over the last four decades. As Amador mentioned, under the ASCC, what is implemented is top-down identity building through the member states’ governments determining the objectives and processes, and this poses the risk that the vision of ASEAN Community will be based only on a shared culture of the elites (30).

A survey to understand how young people regarded ASEAN was carried out by Thompson and Thianthai in 2007. The study, entitled “Attitudes and Awareness Towards ASEAN”, was commissioned by the ASEAN Foundation and aimed to measure the attitudes of the most highly educated members of the next generation of ASEAN citizens in the ten member states (2). The survey identified some clear differences in knowledge and opinions towards the region and the

Association, but also found a shared desire to know more about the region. The survey suggested “a perhaps embryonic but nevertheless perceptible sense of ownership and stake in ASEAN as citizens of the region.” (66).

Use of the Internet and social media in Southeast Asia has increased rapidly in recent years. www.internetworldstats.com estimates that 55 million of Indonesia’s approximately 253 million population were using the Internet at the end of 2013, and 51 million of them were subscribed to Facebook. In their global study of Twitter use, Mocanu et al. found that Indonesian and Malay were the third and fourth most used languages on Twitter respectively, while Indonesia ranked 30th in terms of Twitter use per capita (fellow ASEAN member Brunei ranked 3rd, behind only Kuwait and the Netherlands).

By observing ASEAN related Tweets on Twitter, we hope to see which individuals or organizations are actively engaged in the discussion, and to identify aspects of and issues associated with ASEAN community by citizens of the member states. This study focuses on Indonesia as Indonesians are some of the world's most active users of social media, engaging in lively political debates online. Reflecting Indonesia’s role as a driving force in ASEAN, Indonesians frequently mention ASEAN on social media. An analysis of online communication in Indonesian regarding ASEAN promises insights into which aspects of ASEAN are emphasized and discussed by state and non-state actors, the media, and individuals.

Previous Research

This research draws on and contributes to research in two main areas:

a. *Research in ASEAN*

In 2007 Thompson and Thiantai conducted a ten-nation survey of attitudes and awareness towards ASEAN. They examined university students’ knowledge of ASEAN and their sense of identification with it (xii). By choosing university students, they attempted to measure ideas and feelings of the most highly educated members of the next generation of ASEAN citizens. They argued that these students were “the most successful products of the modern educational systems and media environments of each nation, their ideas reflect those sources on which they draw to think about the region they live in” (2).

The survey that involved 2,170 university students in state members’ universities were carried out under five general categories: attitudes towards the region and the Association; knowledge about the Association; orientation towards countries within the region; sources of information about the region and the Association; and aspirations

for the region and the Association (3).

The survey found that television, school, newspaper and books were the most common sources of information about ASEAN among all students from all countries. Thompson and Thiantai noted that their respondents everywhere rated the Internet as a less important source of information (at least with respect to ASEAN) than more traditional media such as television and newspapers (43).

Thompson and Thiantai concluded that ASEAN is much more than a talking shop for political elites and diplomats. Students across the region demonstrate a fairly high level of knowledge about the Association and have generally positive attitudes towards it. Students generally consider themselves to be “citizens” of ASEAN, which to some extent, this expresses a degree of “regional citizenship”: an attachment to the region and to the people of the region (63-64).

The survey “Indonesian Perceptions and Attitudes toward the ASEAN Community” was conducted by Guido Benny and Kamarulnizam Abdullah to assess Indonesian public opinion on ASEAN and ASEAN Community. It was carried out in five major cities, Jakarta, Makassar, Medan, Pontianak and Surabaya, between June and December 2009. The survey involved 399 respondents who were selected because of their tertiary education or at least diploma-level qualifications (43). In the background, the study argued that the development and building process of the ASEAN Community appears to be elitist and state-centric. It has been leaders, bureaucrats, and business people deciding the course of the ASEAN Community creation (62).

Although they found differences from one city to another, Benny and Abdullah concluded that there was a high level of awareness and understanding of ASEAN on the part of the Indonesian public. While the Indonesian respondents appeared to have little knowledge about the ideas behind the formation of an ASEAN Community, they were supportive of the idea (64-65).

b. *Research on Twitter*

Twitter has become perhaps the most heavily researched social media, for two reasons. The first is that the widespread adoption of Twitter worldwide by individuals and all kinds of organizations allows researchers to use it to investigate communication regarding a wide range of issues in both local and global contexts. Second, the fact that

most Tweets are public, and that Twitter offers APIs for collecting tweets and other data, makes it easier to research than other social media such as Facebook, where most information is not public. Of course this public character of Twitter also influences what users are likely to write, so Tweets do not offer an unfiltered insight into privately held opinions.

The availability of both the text of Tweets and a wealth of metadata regarding the profiles and locations of and links between Twitter users allows researchers to investigate both content-oriented topics such as awareness of or attitudes towards a certain topic, and metadata-oriented topics such as connections between users in different geographical locations, changes in communities over time, how news or memes spread, and how communities form, break up and establish hashtags. Methods employed in Twitter research include social network analysis, which is frequently applied to the mention and retweet connections between users, sentiment analysis, and the use of geographic information systems to analyze and map geotagged tweets and users' location information.

Research on Twitter in relation to political topics can be broadly grouped into the following areas: the use of Twitter as a campaigning tool by politicians (e.g. Vergeer et al.); communication or lack of it among and between groups with different party allegiances (e.g. Conover et al.); communication on controversial issues such as climate change (Pearce et al.) and abortion (Yardi and boyd); and the use of Twitter by protest groups around the world (e.g. Lotan) or those who find themselves in the midst of a conflict (e.g. Monroy-Hernández et al.). Hence, little research has been done on relatively uncontroversial topics such as ASEAN in Indonesia (or indeed on communication about other regional organizations such as the EU).

Data and Methods

We collected 892,052 statuses (Tweets) containing the word “ASEAN” from the Twitter Streaming application programming interface (API) between 1 November 2013 and 8 July 2014. Of these statuses, 502,526 were tagged by Twitter as being in Indonesian; the next two most used languages were English (191,799) and Japanese (132,998). This language tagging is carried out automatically by Twitter, but some manual checking of user profiles and Tweets sent by some users whose statuses were tagged by Twitter as “Indonesian” suggests that these users are in fact writing in Malaysian and English. For the purposes of this research we will merely note that our sample may include

statuses not written in Indonesian, and leave for future research the question of how to improve the quality of the data. We note in this context that Mocanu et al found that geotagged tweets sent from Indonesia were split linguistically approximately 20-40-40 between English, Indonesian and Malay.

The average number of Indonesian Tweets collected each day was 2,010, and the largest number of Indonesian Tweets collected in one day was 32,443, on 11 May 2014, when ASEAN Foreign Ministers were meeting in Myanmar. Other peak days included 12 November 2013 (date of an ASEAN Ministerial Meeting on Science and Technology in Malaysia and an ASEM Foreign Ministers' Meeting in India); 30 November 2013 (the Yamaha ASEAN Cup motorcycle race held in Indonesia), 14 December 2013 (the ASEAN-Japan Commemorative Summit meeting held in Japan) and 20 January 2014 (the ASEAN Plus Three Tourism Ministers' meeting in Malaysia, and the closing ceremony of the ASEAN Para-games).

The Indonesian-tagged Tweets were sent by a total of 8,625 users. The collected statuses were stored in a PostGreSQL database, and a number of Python scripts were written to carry out basic analysis and to process the data for further examination using Gephi, a social network analysis tool.

Results

Key Users

It is not a simple matter to define “influential” in relation to Twitter users. *Follower count*, i.e. the number of other users following a user, is the most obvious metric, but many followers do not read their Twitter feeds regularly, so a user's follower count is not a guarantee that her Tweets are being widely read. The number of times a user's Tweets are *retweeted* is an indicator that other users are finding that user's Tweets significant. However, Conover et al. showed that Twitter users tend to retweet only content with which they agree, so controversial Tweets might be widely read but less widely retweeted. A third metric is the number of times a user is *mentioned*. While Yardi and Boyd has shown that users are more likely to mention another user with whom they disagree than they are to retweet their statuses; on the other hand, a high rate of mentions could reflect notoriety outside Twitter rather than authorship of prolific and/or profound Tweets.

In order to have a working definition of “influential” users tweeting in Indonesian about ASEAN, we calculated a score for each user as follows:

$$((\text{ave. no. of retweets} / \text{max. ave. no. of retweets}) * 2) +$$

$$((\text{ave no. of mentions} / \text{max ave no. of mentions}) * 2) +$$

$$((\text{ave no. of followers} / \text{max. ave no. of followers}) * 1)$$

where the first line is the average number of times a user's statuses are retweeted; the second line is the average number of times a user is mentioned each week of our data-gathering period; and the third line is the average number of followers a user has when she sends a Tweet (we use an average because the number of followers rises and falls). All three averages were then divided by the maximum average achieved by any user in order to obtain a number between 0 and 1; finally we gave double weight to the average numbers of retweets and mentions, as these two metric reflect more active recognition of a Twitter user's presence or activity than the number of followers. The highest possible score is thus 5, and the lowest possible score 0.

While Tweets and the profiles of the users who send them are public, it is common practice among Twitter researchers not to publish user names in order to avoid any future repercussions or embarrassment to users. We follow that practice here for most users, but make an exception for organizations, communities and public figures. Hence we can note that the users with the highest scores are SBYudhoyono, the President of Indonesia at the time of writing, whose score is 3.57, and the online news site Detik.com (3.49). They are followed by two users with scores between 2 and 2.5, eight users with scores between 1 and 1.3, and then a long tail of users with scores below 1.

We categorized the 250 highest-scoring users into the following eight categories:

1. **Politicians and political parties:** government officials and members of political parties, this includes President Soesilo Bambang Yudhoyono's personal account.
2. **Media:** this includes television, radio, and newspaper companies, as well as online news sites and Twitter accounts specializing in news.
3. **News/hobby/youth communities:** the accounts are used for information sharing among the followers in topic of interest, such as travelling, sports and political issues. This include communities of young people and students.
4. **Individuals:** this includes celebrities, sports personalities and members of the general public.
5. **Government institutions:** this includes the Indonesian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Office of the President, the Indonesian Ministry of Trade.
6. **Non-governmental institutions:** this includes private foundations

and non-profit organizations.

7. Educational institutions: this includes official universities' accounts.

8. Companies: this includes for example Yamaha Corporation, event organizers, public relations companies but excludes media companies.

Table 1 shows the number of users in each category.

Table 1: User categories

Category	Users in top 250	Users in top 12
Individuals	90	2
Media	72	7
News/hobby/ youth communities	40	1
Companies	19	0
Government institutions	10	1
Education institutions	7	0
Politicians and political parties	9	1
Non- governmental institutions	2	0

Table 1 shows that media-related accounts dominate the accounts with the very highest scores, and furthermore comprise nearly one-third of all users in the top 250. On the other hand, accounts held by individual users make up more than one third of all users in the top 250.

Interactions between Users

We investigated the exchanges between Twitter users regarding ASEAN in Indonesian. Twitter users interact in two main ways: mentioning another user by including the other user's name following an @ sign in a status; and retweeting. We carried out a network analysis of the mention and retweet connections between the users in our dataset.

Mentions

The mention network comprises 40,406 arcs (one or more mentions) between 46,536 nodes (users). It is a directed network, with each arc going from the mentioning user to the mentioned user. Confining our attention to the 250 users with the highest “influence” scores identified in the previous section, we can see considerable differences in how much users in different categories mention other users or are mentioned by other users. In the jargon of social network analysis, the “in-degree” of a node means the number of other users who mention this user, and the “out-degree” means the number of other users whom this user mentions. The twelve users in our dataset with the highest influence scores (i.e. over 1.0) had particularly high in-degrees, so including them in the average resulted in very high standard deviation. We therefore decided to exclude these twelve users and calculated the averages for the remaining 238 users. 161 of these 238 users mentioned or were mentioned by at least one other user. All categories of user, with the single exception of educational institutions, tended to be mentioned more than they mentioned others. This tendency was particularly strong for media users but also for politicians and government institutions. Individuals and communities, on the other hand, were more active in mentioning other users.

Interactions between our 250 users scoring highest for influence would be of great interest; however, our dataset contains not a single mention of one of these 250 users by another member of the group of 250. We therefore expanded our analysis of mention ties to include all mention connections between users in our dataset: 40,406 connections between 46,536 users. We reduced the network to its largest component (24,288 arcs between 18,840 nodes). Then, because we were interested in the exchanges between users, we reduced the network to those users who both mentioned at least two other users, and were mentioned by at least two other users. The resulting network had 513 connections between 266 users.

In order to identify groups of users within this network who were communicating particularly with each other, we ran Blondel et al’s Louvain community detection algorithm (implemented in Gephi), which found 17 communities. The modularity was 0.768, which indicates that the network was clearly divided into communities (i.e. there was more than expected communication within those communities, and less than expected communication between the communities, compared to a random network with otherwise similar characteristics.)

We make the following observations about the largest six communities found in the mention network.

1. From the profiles of the users, groups tended to be concentrated on

three Indonesian cities: two groups were centered in Yogyakarta and one each in Medan and Bandung. Although Jakarta-based users were also members of these groups, none of the groups showed a strong association with what Dino Patti Djalal called the “Capital City of ASEAN.” This is perhaps surprising as Jakarta is the nerve center of Indonesia’s economic, social, cultural and political activities as well as the location of the ASEAN Secretariat office. Yogyakarta in Central Java emerges from the analysis of the mention networks as the city where the most lively discussions about ASEAN Community are taking place. This is underlined by the fact that the #jogja hashtag was among the top ten most used hashtags of five out of the six groups, and Yogyakarta was the only city that featured as a top ten hashtag in any of the groups. However, not all the groups showed a strong geographical bias: two of the groups centered instead on a strong influential user and similar interests and/or points of view.

2. The profiles of users in the mention network showed that on Twitter, communication about ASEAN is not dominated by state actors but is instead being undertaken by the general public of students and other mostly young people, both individually and as communities. Although President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono’s official account had the highest influence score, he was not found in any of the six mention network groups. The president is thus not involved directly in the circle of discussion but rather is a widely read and retweeted source of information. In regard to members of the network groups, most of the members in all six groups were students. Although this may be explained at least in part by the demographic profile of Twitter’s Indonesian user base, this finding resonates with Thompson and Thiantai’s survey findings, specifically in regard to growing awareness of and “having a stake” in ASEAN among young people.

Retweets

Our retweet network was much larger than our mention network: it had 230,337 arcs connecting 121,072 nodes. However, only 93 of the 238 users identified in the previous section retweeted or were retweeted. Moreover, a large proportion of the arcs in this network were to a small number of heavily retweeted users (seven of whom had their statuses retweeted by more than 2000 users). Similarly to the mention network, users in all categories tended to be retweeted more (in-degree) than they retweeted (out-degree), and government institutions,

politicians and media users were retweeted many times more than they retweeted. However one clear difference from the mention network was that community users displayed a very high proportion of retweeting compared to the amount they were retweeted.

Similarly to the mention network, we reduced the retweet network to its largest component (225,176 arcs between 112,998 nodes) and then excluded nodes with a degree less than 123, leaving 258 nodes. We ran the same community detection algorithm, but this time the modularity obtained was only 0.245, which indicates a rather low level of division into communities. We therefore decided not to investigate the retweet network communities further.

Discussion

Although the assumptions that the formation of ASEAN Community tend to suggest non-involvement of the general population, our findings suggest that at least on Twitter, the Indonesian public is aware of the idea. With the findings, we argue that Twitter is generally used as the space for exchange of opinions by non-state actors of students, individuals and communities rather than by state actors. Even in the six of the biggest mention networks of ASEAN Tweets, there was only one group where state actors were strongly represented. The Retweet analysis showed that government institutions, politicians and media users are retweeted many times more than they retweet. This reminds us of findings by Benny and Abdullah that suggested that while the formation process of the ASEAN Community was perceived to be elitist, Indonesian respondents still approve of the formation since they believe that it will benefit the people (56).

Observing the majority of members in mention networks and ASEAN Tweets generally, students and young people are engaging in the discussion and expressing their concerns for the upcoming Community. This resonates with Thompson and Thiantai's 2007 study on how students showed a sense of ownership in ASEAN as citizens of the region (66). That said, this study supports Benny and Abdullah's argument that the Community building process is elite-centric. These members are mostly students of prestigious universities in Indonesia who represent the future government officials, policy makers and business people who will decide the course of ASEAN Community.

From the envisioned three pillars of ASEAN Community, the discussions seemed to focus more on ASEAN Economic Community instead of the other two (ASEAN Political-Security Community and ASEAN Socio-Cultural Community), specifically on preparing Indonesia for the open competition with other member states of ASEAN. For the students, this might be closely related to the concern for their own abilities to compete in career paths in the future ASEAN Community.

For a regional organization that was originally established for political and security reasons (Sudo), the starting point for focus on economic issues in ASEAN did come later if compared to the similar regional organization such as the European Union (EU). In terms of integration, the EU was founded on the region's motivation to grow together economically after the Second World War (even by means of bilateral cooperations)⁸⁰; ASEAN on the other hand, with its young member states focused more to the internal development of each countries (Webber 293-294). Edward Moxon-Browne wrote in "Political Integration in the European Union: Any Lessons for ASEAN?" that European political integration was rooted in, and justified by, an impressive level of economic integration (Murray ed. 99).

This focus in ASEAN of a more "internal" rather than "external" economic development may have affected the way the region and its people see competition and cooperation between member states, even until now. Moxon-Browne in his conclusion emphasized that the notion of how the member states are separated by economic rivalries, among other reasons, is one of the challenges to integration in the region. Economic success in the popular mind is linked to national effort, not to transnational cooperation (Murray ed. 100). Hence it should not be surprising to find that in the Twitter discussions of ASEAN Economic Community, instead of the possibility of transnational cooperation, concerns in regard to the competition that will come with the region's free market, were the first to surface and become the hot topic. The notion are being punctuated by some of the words that are heavily used by users in the six communities identified in the mention network: "free market" and "competition" (in both English and Bahasa Indonesia), "challenge" and "opportunity".

Another finding in our study was the concentration of the mention network groups on three Indonesian cities: Yogyakarta, Medan and Bandung. Yogyakarta has a strong presence in contributing busy traffic of ASEAN related Twitter as observable in the members of network groups as well the hashtags used by them. We found this interesting because the simple assumption will be to have the concentration in Jakarta.

It is easy to imagine the traffic of Tweets in the capital city of Indonesia, Jakarta to be busier because it is where the governmental offices and ASEAN

⁸⁰ Looking at the history of EU, they started in 1950 as European Coal and Steel Community with the main political and economic cooperations in the early post-Second World War was between France and Germany to balance the power between the two countries (Webber 296-303). The organization later on became the now known as the European Union in 1993, which often regarded as the most developed example of region-building and taken as benchmark against which to measure other region (Wunderlich 138). Although it is interesting to also note that ASEAN elites have studiously and explicitly refrained from following the European model (Wunderlich 148).

Secretariat are located, which may translate to easy access for information in regard to events related to ASEAN Community socialization efforts; especially when peaks in Tweets usually are effects of events being held (ASEAN Summits, festivals, minister meetings, forums, etc). We think though that this does not necessarily mean that the general public in Jakarta have low degree in awareness and understanding of ASEAN.⁸¹

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⁸¹Benny and Abdullah's findings suggested that general public, students and non-students alike, in Jakarta are more exposed to ASEAN due to the city's metropolitan and international character as the capital city (46). Respondents in Jakarta scores averagely high in both level of awareness and understanding of ASEAN (47).

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ONE IDENTITY TOWARDS ASEAN COMMUNITY 2015

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Abstract

This paper seeks to examine about the efforts to establish one identity towards ASEAN Community 2015. Like integration of European Union, the birth of the ASEAN Charter provides a challenge for ASEAN countries, especially in realizing One Vision, One Identity, and One Community. The idea of a regional One Vision, One Identity, and One Community seems promising. However, there have been criticisms from a number of researchers and scholars about the creation of such regional identity as the region is multicultural, multiethnic, and multilingual in nature. In constructing an ideal ASEAN Community, a Regional Identity needs to be cultivated by the Member States and its peoples. The creation of regional identity is very important in order to speed up the process of establishing regional connectivity to achieve ASEAN oneness, and the creation of the ASEAN people centered.

Keywords: Identity, Regional Identity, People Centered and ASEAN Community

Introduction

This paper seeks to elaborate on the implementation of the ASEAN Community in 2015, which the authors see that based on field observations are still many people who do not know about; what is ASEAN, ASEAN Community, what opportunities and challenges to be faced.

Thus, there is a concern of the author about the readiness of the community and the implementation of the ASEAN community. Because the lack of awareness of the presence of the ASEAN Community in 2015 resulted in the formation of ASEAN single community efforts becomes constrained, particularly in realizing the ASEAN motto, which is "One Vision, One Identity, One Community".

This paper begins with an introduction to the formation of the ASEAN Community in 2015, where in one of the objectives is to establish a single ASEAN community and part of a plan to form a social and cultural community. The desire to form a single community is interpreted as a manifestation of a single identity, namely the ASEAN Oneness.

The second section focuses on the meaning of identity to be achieved by ASEAN. This section begins by describing the meaning of identity, both based on the concept or meaning desired by ASEAN itself. This identity is defined by how ASEAN wants to establish a regional identity, unity in diversity both in language, culture and ethnicity.

The third section contains a review of the challenges and the efforts of ASEAN to realize one's identity as part of the embodiment of the ASEAN Community by 2015. Although region is known as the melting pot of culture and diversity, but as a community, still do not have the mindset, identity and unity for the regional community of people-centered. To face this challenge, efforts must be made to create awareness about the importance of having a sense of identity ASEAN single. This effort will be seen from the extent to which ASEAN has been trying to socialize on the implementation of the ASEAN Community to the whole society.

In the last section contains the conclusions and opinion of the author, concerning the implementation of the ASEAN Community plan at this time.

Towards ASEAN Community 2015

Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), which at the beginning of its formation in 1967 (ASEAN Declaration, Bangkok, 8 August 1967), is aimed at politically oriented cooperation to achieve peace and security in Southeast Asia. The journey turned into a spirit of regional cooperation to strengthen economic and social stability in the region, including accelerated economic growth, social

progress and cultural with due regard to equality and partnership, that create a basis for the creation of a prosperous and peaceful society.

ASEAN officially formed on August 8th, 1967 in Bangkok, Thailand is a regional partnership established by the five countries in Southeast Asia, namely: Philippines, Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore and Thailand by agreement "*Bangkok Declaration*", signed jointly and contents as follows:

'Establishing a solid foundation in improving regional cooperation in Southeast Asia with the spirit of equity and partnership in order to create peace, progress and prosperity of the region.'(ASEAN Document Series, 1985, p. 2)

Since its inception aspired to realize the ASEAN, Southeast Asia Countries agreed that ASEAN membership continues to be expanded, including ten member countries, namely the Philippines, Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore, Thailand, Brunei Darussalam in 1984, Vietnam in 1995, Laos in 1997, Myanmar in 1997, and Cambodia in 1999.

At the 12th ASEAN Summit, the ASEAN leaders affirmed its strong commitment to accelerate the establishment of the ASEAN Community by 2015 in line with the ASEAN Vision 2020 the Bali Concord II, and the Cebu Declaration on Acceleration of Establishment of the ASEAN Community by 2015. Specifically leaders of ASEAN countries agreed to accelerate the establishment of ASEAN Economic Community by 2015 and to transform ASEAN into areas where there is a free flow of goods, services, investments and skilled labors, free flow of capital, and to strengthen ASEAN's competitiveness in the face of global competition, especially from China- India.

In order to strengthen the accelerated pace of integration, ASEAN transforms "*the way*" of economic cooperation by putting a legal framework that became a basis of a commitment through the signing of ASEAN Charter at the 13th ASEAN Summit, 20 November 2007 (ASEAN Charter document). Along with the signing of the ASEAN Charter, which is the blueprint of direction ASEAN Economic and strategic schedule of time and stages pillars achievement was also recognized. Furthermore, this commitment becomes legally binding instrument in achieving the ASEAN Economic Community in the future for all member countries. Each country is obliged to maintain the credibility of ASEAN commitments so that better in the future.

As a key step towards realizing the ASEAN Community of continued economic growth, reduced development gap and improved connectivity among member states and between member states and the rest of the world by enhancing

regional and national physical, institutional and people-to-people linkages, ASEAN has developed Master Plan on ASEAN Connectivity.

Under the Master Plan, ASEAN has reviewed the achievements made and the challenges encountered or that are impeding each of these linkages. Key strategies and essential actions have been adopted with clear targets and timelines to address these challenges to further enhance ASEAN Connectivity in realizing ASEAN Community by 2015 and beyond.

The vision of ASEAN leaders to build an ASEAN Community by 2015 calls for a well-connected ASEAN that will contribute towards a more competitive and resilient ASEAN, as it will bring peoples, goods, services and capital closer together. An enhanced ASEAN Connectivity is essential to achieve three pillars the ASEAN Community, namely ASEAN Political-Security Community, ASEAN Economic Community and ASEAN Socio-Cultural Community.

Enhancing intra-regional connectivity within ASEAN would benefit all ASEAN member states through enhanced trade, investment, tourism, people-to-people exchanges, and development which would complement the ongoing regional efforts to realize a people-oriented ASEAN Community by 2015 (Master Plan on ASEAN Connectivity, 2010).

Towards the implementation of the ASEAN Community on December 31, 2015, ASEAN seeks to realize the Southeast Asian into an integrated region. This is in accordance with the ASEAN motto "One Vision, One Identity, and One Community". Realization of Southeast Asia into a single region is interesting and challenging, because it would involve the unification of approximately 600 million people coming from 10 countries of Southeast Asia that consists of a variety of multicultural, multiethnic, and multilingual. ASEAN Community will be the core of the development of regional architecture, a regional order that puts the "dynamic equilibrium" and attempt to realize a People-Oriented and People-Centered ASEAN.

An effort in strengthening the ASEAN integration is no longer merely a Government to Government, but also through the People to People. It is expected that ASEAN as a community can go hand in hand, both at the government and community levels. Efforts to strengthen ASEAN through the People to People will be able to support the strengthening of the ASEAN Community is more massive and comprehensive at the level of society. Besides the dissemination and promotion of ASEAN cooperation to the community, they also need to be involved in various activities of ASEAN cooperation, as part of the components of this regional community. ASEAN Community to be one important element that will determine the sustainability of efforts in creating regional connectivity.

Regional connectivity will be established in the region will certainly involve all elements of society. ASEAN as a whole will have to enhance people's capacity to construct bonds that were once national, but now must be regional. It will require societies with sufficient social capital and capable institutions to empower individual citizenry to consciously integrate into an ASEAN identity that is perceived to be a worthy course to shape their cultural, economic, political, and social lives.

The ASEAN identity is the basis of Southeast Asia's regional interests. It is our collective personality, norms, values and beliefs as well as aspirations as one ASEAN community. ASEAN will mainstream and promote greater awareness and common values in the spirit of unity in diversity at all levels of society (see; Roadmap for an ASEAN Community 2009-2015). "Promote ASEAN identity building in support of an ASEAN Community by undertaking initiatives and activities to increase the level on ASEAN awareness and" we felling among the peoples of ASEAN (*Cebu Declaration Toward One Caring and Sharing Community*).

ASEAN Identity

There are three community envisioned by the ASEAN community that will encourage development in Southeast Asia. The first is the ASEAN Political-Security Community (APSC), which aims to bring ASEAN's political and security ties to a higher place, build the region to live in peace with a democratic and harmonious environment. The second ASEAN Economic Community (AEC) which is the goal of regional integration. AEC intends to strengthen economic integration in the region and make ASEAN as a single market and production base. It is believed to narrow the development gap among member states and the creation of the livelihoods and prosperity for the citizens of ASEAN as a whole. The third is the ASEAN Socio-Culture Community aims to complement and strengthen the second pillar before. ASCC intends to contribute to the realization of the ASEAN Community based on community, anticipating the effects that arise as a result of economic integration in the region, forming enduring solidarity and unity among the nations and peoples of ASEAN by forging a common identity, and building a caring community, inclusive and harmonious, where the livelihoods and improved livelihoods (Roadmap for an ASEAN Community 2009-2015).

The formation of the ASEAN Community is a great idea for the realization of a solid and stable integration of the region. However, how the effort to make the area a very multicultural and multiethnic, significant gaps economic growth, the political systems and ideologies different, into a single community?

In a study of the social sciences, community terminology refers to the notion of shared values, norms, and symbols that give identity or sense of we-ness. Because it is simple, the term community development can be defined as the development of sense of we-ness. According to Emanuel Adler and Barnett Michel, the community has three characteristics. First, community members come from a variety of identities, values and ideas. Secondly, those who are in the community have a direct relationship in a variety of circumstances and procedures. Third, the community showed a certain degree of reciprocity that express long-term interests and may even be altruism (Adler and Barnett, 1998).

In other ways, term of identity (Wendt, 1996, 50-1), like the regional concept of Southeast Asia and ASEAN, is an essentially contested (Acharya's, 2009c) concept owing to its fluidity, indeterminacy, and complexity, thus making its analytic utility somehow problematic (Lebow, 2008, 473-492). Its essential contentedness can be explained by at least four problems. First, there is a problem of definition - leading to questions such as how to define identity, what is its differentia (defining characteristics that separates it from a wider concept, i.e. ideational, where it falls under), and what are its denotation (the logical term for the examples of the definiendum) as evidence of its unequivocal manifestation. Second, there is a problem of measurement. How exactly to measure identity, despite it being qualitative, and with what quantitative methodology and assessment indicators to use in understanding and explaining it is not an easy task (Horowitz, 2002). Third, there is a problem of causation and correlation, that is, whether to take identity as an independent variable, dependent variable, intermediate variable, and/or intervening variable and for what grounds. And fourthly, there is a problem of identification and delineation – how to identify and delineate identity in order to have a better grasp of its nature, nuances, and complexities.

Southeast Asian efforts to become a community can certainly be a difficult challenge, even showed ambiguity in implementation. The ambiguity comes from the existence of ASEAN member countries themselves. Community collaborative effort spanning traditional relations in the political-security, economic integration, and trying to make a socio-cultural community together to show a saying that is often expressed, that is unity in diversity. (Amador III, 2011).

“Unity” refers to oneness, wholeness, or of being formed of parts that make a whole, essentially around a consensus of shared values as they relate to the whole state. “Diversity” on the other hand refers to variety and difference. Our theme “Unity in Diversity” suggests a harmonious and peaceful community consisting of individuals from different backgrounds. It could also be seen as a call for homogeneity among the people of ASEAN. (YB Datuk Richard Riot Anak Jaem, 2011. ASEAN Lecture Series “Unity in Diversity”, Opening Remarks).

ASEAN Community can be considered as what is popularly introduced by Benedict T. Anderson, as an "imagined community" (Anderson, 1991). That in the context of the ASEAN Community, the community is something that is imagined because the members of even the smallest nation will not know most of the other members, will not be face to face with them, may not even have heard of them. But in the mind of every person who became a member of the community, living in a image of togetherness. However, communities as "imagined community" in the context of ASEAN Community is also still contains a very subtle ambiguity, because the terminology used Anderson also presupposes the presence of a unifying element that is also pictured, along with the desire born of suffering occupation. While in the context of the ASEAN Community, it is still very difficult to determine an imagined anything as a unifying element and forming a common identity.

In other words, the ambiguity of the ASEAN Community building lies on the difficulty of finding a common identity that becomes the main element forming a community. Though, the effort to find a common identity is being conducted, it is difficult to imagine what the entity and of the historical and cultural heap who among ASEAN members to be used. Even if the most likely solution is to create a shared identity which is completely new, which is not built from the noble values of the past, but the construction of the creative actors who join in this community, the identity has been and will be contested over time. Development of the ASEAN region's identity will be contested not only as an indication of the state-society conflicts but deeper, between "communities" being built by ASEAN and the individual.

Challenges in the Establishment of the ASEAN Identity

"Through ASEAN this region will become a grassroots-supported and close-knit community bound together not only by common interests but by shared values, identity and aspirations among our peoples." (Narine, 2002)

Joining the community is a process of self-identification as a part of the community that wants to build and it is impossible is realized when there is no common perception among the actors who will be involved.

The impression that emerged from the ideals of the formation of "caring and sharing society" is a utopian impression, because the basic elements that enable the growth of the feeling it has not been established. This is the biggest challenge the current ASEAN Community; ensure awareness, understanding, and acceptance of the public towards this issue.

The formation of the ASEAN Community drew sharp criticism from some scholars, because of the tendency that emerged in the process only involves politicians, policy makers, communities certain elite, but not the general public as the most important foundation that supports the formation of the community. In other words, the association is more elitist and state centric in comparison based on community.

There are several factors which according to the author to be an obstacle in the formation of the ASEAN identity, such as: First, there is diversity among the 10 ASEAN countries. ASEAN people share different political systems, cultures, ethnicities and religions, which can make it difficult for one of the members of the ASEAN community to share in common with other members. Various principles of ASEAN coherent with the "ASEAN way" as particularly respecting the sovereignty of member nations. Among the wide range of values, the most important values that are applied in the "ASEAN way" are the notion of non-interference, informality, and consensus building (Musyawarah dan Mufakat) in the diplomatic process. ASEAN supports the principle of non-interference; respect the interests of each country and try not to interfere and violate the national interest the ASEAN members.

This area is rich with myriads of diversity, including religion, population, political system, population, and geographical conditions. Malaysia, Indonesia, Philippines engage seriously in the face of ethnic, linguistic, religious differences that hinder agreement both on a national, or even an internal region. One of the most significantly sensitive differences is in terms of religion and society. Thailand is a Buddhist country while Islam is common among the Malay population in Malaysia and Indonesia. Singapore supports Confucianism, and many Catholics take part in the Philippines. Populations in Southeast Asia is mainly composed of Austronesia, Tai, and Mon-Khmer-speaking immigrants who migrated from Southern China during the Iron Age, but it also includes a large number of Chinese, European, Papuans, Eurasians and their hybrids.

Political systems varies among member states is no less a problem in ASEAN. Colonialism took part in encouraging the adoption of various systems. Compared with other countries, Thailand is the only country that escaped from colonial rule. The rest of Southeast Asian countries have been colonized under the control of various countries - Indonesia under the Dutch, Malaysia and Singapore under the British, and the Philippines under Spain and then the United States - they have different administrative, political, and legal systems. International relations of each country pursue on matters relating to its former "motherland" which often lead to clashes (Majone, 2005).

Second, the diversity of languages that becomes 'major obstacle' in the integration process. Various languages are spoken in ASEAN, with each ASEAN

country having their own official languages and wide ranging list of dialects. There are about 900 different languages and dialects. Without a common language, of course, will be very difficult in the process of interaction between the peoples of ASEAN.

The latest developments related to the ASEAN identity is the use of English as the official language of ASEAN (working language), either as an official language and the lingua franca (www.asean.org). English usage is done at the level of formal institutional -- use in accordance with the rules of general official accepted by various countries in the world. While its use as a lingua franca emphasizes the functional communal -- use in accordance with the style, competencies, and level of local needs, to achieve the purposes of daily communication.

Third, ASEAN countries themselves face a lot of problems associated with the process of nation building. Some have argued that ASEAN countries remain inward-looking and overwhelmed by their own domestic problems, as a result, the concept of an ASEAN community is familiar only among the government elites. The formation of a common identity is not given, the existing and perceived living. But this is a unification process to create a shared understanding of the values, norms and shared vision of ASEAN as a whole community. Thinking, feeling and acting ASEAN mindset requires a process of changes not only among business and political leaders, but also among a larger constituency, including the poor who need to be more aware of the opportunities and consequences of the integration,

Fourth and perhaps most critically, is the lack of funding for ASEAN awareness activities. This may explain why the ASEAN Foundation, which was established to promote awareness about the grouping, is not as well known as it should be. How can ASEAN raise awareness about itself when the organization tasked with promoting awareness and the ASEAN identity itself is generally unknown? For example; little research conducted by students of International Relations, Andalas University - Padang on public knowledge of the ASEAN Community in 2015 in March and April. Regardless of the method and the approach taken in the study, the conclusions that can be drawn is from 11 residents of Padang polled, only 3 people who know, and even then only just knowing, not understanding about ASEAN (see on <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=f91vommTwPI>).

The Importance of Awareness of the Identity

It is important to realize that multiculturalism is the base of this community. This is because the nations involved in this community also knit from the

heterogeneity of cultures, ethnicities, and beliefs. However, what is true in the ASEAN Community and ASCC identity formation in particular is a top-down by the member states through their governments, both in setting targets, objectives and processes. Evidently, awareness, understanding, and acceptance of the public regarding this issue are still very low. This poses a risk for the development of the ASEAN Community and the ASCC, or ASEAN as a whole because at the end, the vision as a community may in fact be based by the elite, and the international community are built like this tend to be fragile. As further described by Severino that, "without feeling a deeper towards regional identity, the lasting stability and regional economic integration, as well as the mutual trust needed for them, would not have been possible" (Rodolfo C. Severino, 2008).

In ASCC blueprint, has been called upon to build an ASEAN identity that would "be a basic interest in the Southeast Asian region". ASEAN identity is intended as a "personality, norms, values, and beliefs as well as our common aspirations as an ASEAN community". Internalization of a common identity in the minds of every citizen of ASEAN saves the hassle of fundamental importance. The idea of regional integration which has been operated by the state is more likely to lead to the building of the ASEAN Community with a common identity becomes increasingly complicated to be realized; the process of internalization of a complete set of identity cannot be awakened once. On the other hand, the identity of the state is not necessarily a manifestation of an individual's identity. Thus, as revealed by Jonsson that, what purpose ASEAN as a collective identity is not clear that in practice there is little in terms of how to create a sort of shared identity (Jonsson, 2010).

ASEAN member governments just focus more on regional cooperation and trade aspects of the economy. Meanwhile, the question of identity is a basic foundation for sustainable ASEAN Community by 2015. Southeast Asia includes a number of ethnic groups and their respective languages, and dozens of religions as diverse as Christianity and Islam to Buddhism and Confucianism. In constructing an ideal ASEAN Community, a Regional Identity needs to be cultivated by the Member States and its peoples. To achieve this goal, the Member States shall reinforce not only mutual interest and interdependence economically, but also understanding and appreciation of the Community's diversified cultures and ethnics; a unity in diversity. That is to say, the Member States and their peoples should have respect for the different cultures, languages, and religions of their associated countries. To date, the ASEAN Identity notion has been subjected to criticisms for being a futile task (Amador III, 2012), or an elitist political project (Jonsson, 2008), due to difficulty, if not impossibility, in pinning down what constitutes the ASEAN Identity. The region is characterized by its multicultural and multiethnic aspects. In addition, ASEAN civilians do not feel they can identify themselves to any community other than their nation, nor

do they feel what Thompson and Thainthai (2008) calls ‘a shared sense of ASEAN-ness’. Generally speaking, knowledge and understanding about ASEAN is now still limited to small groups of people such as academicians, diplomats, businessmen, and governments, rather than ASEAN citizens en masse.

In the present-day ASEAN region, a crisis is taking place in the social order, and development and sociocultural paradigms are breaking down. All ASEAN states are facing the dilemma of how to preserve conventional and traditional values while adopting new values and norms. Modern society needs a new paradigm to describe the social relationship wherein different organic groups unite with shared ethical and moral bonds, working toward the same, unified social order. ASEAN society must be characterized by three critical components: democracy, good governance, and people’s participation.

These values need to be promoted as appropriate and acceptable so that they can be observed at all levels, including the institutional level in the form of civic groups, organizations, or new constitutions. In creating a sustainable ASEAN identity, ASEAN member states must conserve some of their traditions and at the same time recognize democracy and the equality of different organic cultural groups within their society. Discrimination based on gender, class, culture, or ethnicity must not be permitted.

Forms of cultural relations include cultural pluralism, which indicates compatible relationships between cultural and ethnic groups. In contrast, incompatible relationships may be seen in civic movements such as militant and separatist movements, where conflicts may have started as disputes between cultural groups but have developed into conflicts between one ethnic minority group and the majority-controlled state. The challenge facing ASEAN member states is how to prevent cultural conflicts from escalating to the unmanageable stage.

In the process of building a sustainable ASEAN identity through people’s participation, all forms of media and information technology need to be employed. At present, that process has not been sufficiently introduced. Most ASEAN member states have not yet reached the realization that in order for the ASEAN community and identity to be formed and sustained, collaborative efforts by all states are essential.

Conclusion

Regardless of the complexity issue establishment of a common identity, the creation of the ASEAN Community is the most significant developments in the long history of the ASEAN way. Urgency and relevance perhaps more decisive than a solid and steady building of a common identity, although this issue should

not be forgotten because it is actually illustrate a very fundamental problem of this community. I mean urgency and relevance of ASEAN Community is related to the utility as a community that will facilitate relationships, connection, and integration of the three pillars especially in favor. The urgency and relevance of ASEAN moves towards better cooperation and closely, come from global challenges and the rise of China and India are getting closer as a world economic power. Therefore, it is important for ASEAN to get rid of all obstacles that would hinder integration and cooperation in order to prosperous society.

For this, ASEAN has had a set of institutions that will manage and be the involvement of members of ASEAN corridor. Implementation blueprint agreed by each member state should be manifested in concrete actions, so that the blue print was not only a document in black and white, formless nothing. And most importantly, efforts to realize the ASEAN Community as a common issue (common issue) should be more incentive to be done because it is important for the formation of public sentiment. Promotion and dissemination of the project should continue voiced through various media, so the project is not only a major initiative of a group of actors, but the ideas and initiatives involving the community as a whole.

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THE DEVELOPMENT OF MULTICULTURALISM AND THE ROLE OF ASEAN-KOREA CENTER TO IMPROVE MULTICULTURALISM IN CONTEMPORARY KOREA

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THE DEVELOPMENT OF MULTICULTURALISM AND THE ROLE OF ASEAN-KOREA CENTER TO IMPROVE MULTICULTURALISM IN CONTEMPORARY KOREA

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The discourses on ‘multicultural society’ or ‘multiculturalism’ in contemporary Korea tend to show that they are quite enlightening and advanced in the direction of inducing cultural assimilation. In this regard, it can be said that ‘multiculturalism’ in Korea enforces cultural conflict and assimilation, even contributes to make a oppressive atmosphere rather than a various cultural coexistence. In the present socio-cultural situation in Korea in which the discourses on ‘multicultural society’ and ‘multiculturalism’ are advanced day by day, it is an undeniable fact that we need to change our understanding and awareness of ‘multiculturalism’ or ‘multicultural society’.

In this sense, I'll try to examine some anthropological reflections on multiculturalism discourses in Korea in this paper. I also want to consider the value problem of multiculturalism in Korea currently progressing into multiculturalism from the anthropological perspective through some concrete examples(with special reference of the development of multiculturalism in Korea and the role of ASEAN-Korea Centre). In this paper, I will focus on a subject of formation and development of the discourses on multiculturalism in Korea and also examine this subject from the holistic perspective. This paper tries a critical examination of the discourses on ‘multiculturalism’ or ‘multicultural society’ in Korea, as a contemporary opinion for building a cultural historical, philosophical, and epistemological paradigm of communication and exchange among members through ‘multiculturalism’ in Korea. For this, I'll bring and utilize main concepts such as ‘multiculturalism’, ‘multicultural society’, and ‘anthropology’. This is a part of academic inquiry for founding theoretical and methodological analysis framework of ‘multiculturalism’ in Korea through a critical introspection about the discourses on ‘multiculturalism’ in contemporary Korea.

In conclusion, this academic attempt can be a part of philosophical try for founding theoretical and methodological model of social unification over discrimination and exclusion among people in Korea through anthropological introspection about ‘multiculturalism’ or ‘multicultural society’ in Korea around ‘multiculturalism’ and cultural relativism, and anthropological subjects. For this, I'll consider how the layered processes of collision and unification between a foreign culture and a native culture occur, as what cultural element is accepted or

excluded in the process of formation and change of the discourses on 'multiculturalism' and 'multicultural society' in contemporary Korea, and what the cultural meaning is. Through this academic try, I'd like to help building a ideological ideal of 'multiculturalism' in Korea and a epistemological and methodological model or paradigm of reality.

Keywords: Multiculturalism, Southeast Asia, ASEAN-KOREA Centre, Contemporary Korea, Anthropological Reflections, Discourses on Multiculturalism

Introduction

The discourses on 'multicultural society' or 'multiculturalism' in contemporary Korea tend to show that they are quite enlightening and advanced in the direction of inducing cultural assimilation. In this regard, it can be said that 'multiculturalism' in Korea enforces cultural conflict and assimilation, even contributes to make a oppressive atmosphere rather than a various cultural coexistence. In the present socio-cultural situation in Korea in which the discourses on 'multicultural society' and 'multiculturalism' are advanced day by day, it is an undeniable fact that we need to change our understanding and awareness of 'multiculturalism' or 'multicultural society'.

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There are the occasions in which European model is generally proposed as a ideal model of socio-cultural development for unity of regions in relation to plan for unity and development of a certain region and a practical assignment for

developing a model connecting this to unity of regions. EU is a representative example of that. It sets “promotion for level of employment and social protection” and “enhancement for the condition of life and labor” as a important target. But realistically, there are not only a single Europe type's social model, but also a various social policies according nations in life and health, education and training, the old-age pension, unemployment benefits, social security and so on (Park 2007: 281).⁸²

Actually, a specific vision of communal social model aimed by ASEAN is not being systematically produced yet (Park 2007: 281). However, the ASEAN's codes of behavior form a report on ‘vision 2020’ in 1997 downward are evaluated as giving possibility of more productive and flexible supporting policy compared to previous models of economic development and supporting in aspects of emphasizing a wide participation and active role in civil society or grass-roots levels, and also in aspects of development or utilization of human resources.

According to the ASEAN activity plan in 2004, because the purpose of socio-

⁸² For instance, Professor Park Sa Myoung (Park 2007: 281) introduces this by four patterns according to two criteria, efficiency of growth (employment guarantee and labor market) and fairness of distribution (unemployment insurance and unemployment benefits), by analysing sociological research results on regional unification. He says that it can be divided into four patterns that is Southern type (low efficiency and fairness), continent type (low efficiency but high fairness), England and American type (high efficiency but low fairness), Northern type (high efficiency and fairness). However, I think that this assertion has some limits to consider diverse variables of cultural level because it is just a distribution by sociological perspective and approach. There is an occasion in which one expresses an anthropological opinion on cultural exchange about this problem, and so it can be called ‘anthropology of cultural exchange’ in the aspect of that it emphasizes a cultural variable in cultural exchange. A person who advocates anthropology of cultural exchange as one of fundamental problem-posing for revitalization of cultural exchange can be included in this case (Honda 2007). The background of this assertion points out the omission of an anthropological perspective and methodology in an existing concept of cultural exchange. And this assertion includes the concepts such as ‘a practice community’ and ‘an acknowledge about a diversity of a main agent’. According to this, “the possibility of anthropology in an anthropological cultural exchange can be found in a place in which individuals who have different attentions and goals meet and do a mutual activity, that is to say ‘a practice community’ and a ‘possibility of a diverse change of a main agent’” (Honda 2007: 40). “This can be expressed as a sort of ‘a civil exchange’. In a context of East Asian politic society, it start to be mentioned as a security assurance and a peace establishment through diplomacy among nations, so it means an exchange of people who cross the border in a various fields except politics, that is to say an exchange to aim a sort of the public area seeking a coexistence as building a sharable value based on all sorts of exchange among private organizations called an grass-roots exchange” (Honda 2007: 40). Therefore, according to the assertion, a sort of enlightening practice is not the main purpose of anthropology in cultural exchange, but it needs to microscopically examine the place in which direct contact and mutual activity among people happen. “Practicing anthropology of cultural exchange is a practice that brings into question the position that researcher stands in, and from this perspective, the work introspectively reconsidering an academic practice of researcher and the position that he stands in can be a starting point for the discourse on cultural exchange and for anthropology of cultural exchange (Honda 2007: 40-41).”

cultural community is “to accumulate humane, cultural, and natural resources for continuous development of demos-centric ASEAN”, it suggests that the strategies for this are a effective social security system, sustainable conservation of environment and resource, social cooperation for control of the impact of economic unification and so on (ASEAN 2004: 16, cited in Park 2007: 282). As such ASEAN's design about socio-cultural community is advanced, and the design of local cooperation of East Asian level about the socio-cultural field has also been advanced. Both ASEAN's and East Asian community models profess emphasis on multiculturalism based on the cultural diversity of East Asia contrasted to the cultural homogeneity of European model. In other words, it is not to focus on unilateral assimilation that denies diverse national cultures, but to emphasize pluralistic integration that actively accepts and unifies them (The Research Group for East Asian Community 2006; Park 2007; Acharya 2001; Narine 2002). However, the assertion that the design of ASEAN's and East Asian community can be considered that it is not just pathological ‘delusion’, but the product of rational ‘imagination’ in terms of that normative ideal of ASEAN's and East Asian community “can be evaluated as being changed from nationalism and physical phenomenon based on it to ideal reality based on humanism”(Park 2007: 282) offers diverse and complex controversial issues surrounding construction of East Asian community.

In this sense, when considering socio-cultural context in East Asia professing multiculturalism, the direction and strategy of socio-cultural exchange between Korea and Southeast Asia are also not free from this. But in socio-cultural context, the aspect and meaning that multiculturalism is practically ‘imagined’ and ‘exchanged’ in ASEAN-Korea relationship, and ‘practiced’ in the process of ‘cooperation’ cannot help turning up as a very diverse and various way. In the present Korean society in which multiculturalism goes through progress of introduction and settlement and development of multicultural society is being achieved, what is the historical background of the socio-cultural exchange and cooperation between ASEAN and Korea, and what's the meaning of these relationships? Especially, in the process of development of multiculturalism in Korea, how have ASEAN-Korea socio-cultural exchange and cooperation been proceeding, what is the role of ASEAN-Korea Center in the process and also what should it be? Furthermore, how will the increase and reinforcement of the role of ASEAN-Korea Center work in the process of seeking and practicing the plan to vitalize future ASEAN-Korea's socio-cultural exchange and cooperation? And what is the strategy of Korea about it, what direction should it be changed in future, and what function and role will its implication assume to reinforce ASEAN-Korea socio-cultural exchange and cooperation.

In the process of answering these questions, I will consider about how we should understand ASEAN-Korea relationship in socio-cultural context, what

meaning it have for establishing a correct direction of ASEAN-Korea socio-cultural exchange and cooperation in future, what the strategy of Korea is to develop socio-cultural exchange and cooperation between the two, and what ways are specifically needed to practice these. For this, by connecting, suggesting and analyzing the role of ASEAN-Korea and planned proposal and management plan about establishment of 'Southeast Asian Cultural Institute', I'll deeply discuss on the characteristic and meaning of the strategy of Korea for ASEAN-Korea socio-cultural exchange and cooperation in more practical level.

Historical Backgrounds of the Development of Multiculturalism in Contemporary Korea and the Socio-Cultural Exchange between ASEAN and Korea

The discourses on 'multicultural society' and 'multiculturalism' recently discussed in Korea tend to show that they are quite enlightening and developed in the direction of inducing cultural assimilation. It is also a fact that 'multiculturalism' in Korea enforces cultural conflict and assimilation, even contributes to make an oppressive atmosphere rather than a various cultural coexistence. In the present social situation in Korea in which the discourses on 'multicultural society' and 'multiculturalism' are advanced day by day, it is also a fact that we surely need to change our understanding and awareness of 'multiculturalism' or 'multicultural society'(APCIEU *et al.* 2007: 5). In the process of development of multicultural society in Korea, the importance of immigrant workers and marriage immigrants from Southeastern regions or ASEAN is still in fairly high level. 150,000 Immigrant workers from ASEAN (importance in Korea, 65%), 56,000 marriage immigrants(importance in Korea, 37%), the total of 200,000 ASEAN people from Southeast who stay in Korea has emerged as the core members of multicultural society in Korea. And this tendency is expected to be continued for the time being. Therefore, it needs to examine the problem, assignment, policy, etc related to ASEAN-Korea exchange, especially socio-cultural exchange from the whole perspective by putting a focus of discourses on multiculturalism or multicultural society relative to Southeast Asia.

This year is the 24th anniversary of the official establishment of ASEAN-Korea relationship in 1989. In Korea, ASEAN-Korea Center had opening ceremony and was officially established in March 13, 2009. As ASEAN+3 system started in 1997 ASEAN-Korea relationship begun in earnest and as the business in the field of cultural art and cultural industry increased since 2003 ASEAN-Korea's relationship has gotten into a new phase.

It is known that as ASEAN was reorganized through the Bali meeting, COCI (Committee on Culture and Information) in ASEAN started in 1978, and with this as a momentum of the business of the socio-cultural exchange and cooperation

between ASEAN and Korea begun in earnest. This organization sets a goal of mutual understanding and solidarity's pursuit among the members of ASEAN in the process of regional development.⁸³ The finance of COCI is primarily covered by ACF (ASEAN Cultural Fund) established in 1978 and some projects get support from a nation which is a dialogue partner of ASEAN.⁸⁴

It is generally thought that the organizational system of ASEAN was practically combined after Bali meeting in 1976, and cultural cooperation industry was started as COCI was established and the finance was supported from Japan. It is a rule that leadership assumes the organization and the operation of ASEAN and COCI by turns, and this reflects the mutual control and the mind of loose solidarity of ASEAN style(Kim 2006: 82).

ASEAN as a regional organization over the cooperation for economy and security has pursued the construction of regional community through the socio-cultural exchange between ASEAN and Korea, which has been considering geographical, historical and cultural diversity in a region(The Research Group for East Asian Community 2006; Park 2004, 2006; Vatikiotis 1999).⁸⁵ And this has been a main role that COCI conducts. The Socio-cultural exchange between ASEAN and Korea that COCI conducts includes the plan of development and exchange cooperation in the field of population, labor, education, adolescent, woman, health, human resources and social welfare. Culture and information exchange include the contents of development and exchange in the field of performing arts, literature and study on ASEAN, radio and television, movie, video, publication and personal media.

According to a statistic in the early 2000s, it is sure that in the position of Korea, ASEAN as the third-biggest foreign investment region of Korea is a very important counterpart in the economic aspect.⁸⁶ But the official exchange history

⁸³ There are organizations related to COCI such as AMRI (ASEAN Ministers Responsible for Information, SOMI (ASEAN Senior Officials Meeting on Information), ASEAN National COCI and so on. AMCA (ASEAN Ministers of Culture and Arts) was established in 2003(Kim 2006: 81).

⁸⁴ This fund was started as the former Japanese Prime Minister, Takeo Hukuda, donated 5 billion yen (25 million dollars), and the interest of this fund is used for COCI project(ASEAN 1987: 141-142, cited in Kim 2006: 82). Consultative organization of ACF consists of bureaucrats who are in charge of foreign exchange in each Asian nation, and assume the role for an advice about operation of ACF to ASEAN Secretariat. ACF is managed by professional investors and makes profits of 2 million dollars every year. ASEAN Secretariat has the using right of ACF under the supervision of ASC.

⁸⁵ But in this case, the meaning of 'cultural community' is omitted in the concept of 'regional community', and the concept of 'regional community' is set up as a 'community' concept of a narrow meaning limited to mainly politics, economy, security, diplomacy and so on. For the subject on possibility and limit as East Asian 'cultural community', see Kim (2005), Oh *et al.*(2004), Hong(2003). These studies critically introspect about the construction of the concept of East Asian community as a cultural community and the problem of the construction of East Asian community based on historical and cultural argument.

⁸⁶ ASEAN is floating as the three trade market of Korea after China and EU in terms of its scale,

between Korea and ASEAN is relatively short and the importance of the budget related to it is also relatively small. Korea established “Sectorial Dialogue” with ASEAN in 1989 and this relationship was advanced to “Full Dialogue Partnership” in 1991. With this as a momentum, ASEAN-Korea cooperation fund has been 2 million dollars per year since 1997. ASEAN-Korea Summit Conference have taken place when doing ASEAN+3 Summit Conference since 1997 and from the same year, 1 million dollars occupying half of ASEAN-Korea cooperation fund have been used by ASEAN-Korea “special cooperation fund” and the rest of 1 million dollars have been used by “future-oriented cooperation fund”.

Division of the fund was because of awareness of necessity that the business expense that has been concentrated on the economic field such as trade, investment and tourism should be changed to the socio-cultural exchange between ASEAN and Korea, which has been “future-oriented cooperation business” including adolescent exchange, journalist exchange and cultural person exchange and so on.⁸⁷ Such ASEAN business scale is absurdly insufficient for the practical socio-cultural exchange between ASEAN and Korea.⁸⁸

After establishing the indiscriminate conversation relationship with ASEAN

and is a main investment expansion region of Korean companies. In Vietnam and Cambodia, Korea as the first investment country is leading economic development and industrialization. Although Southeast Asia called the black market that lays the golden eggs is growing rapidly as a representative emerging market in East Asia, the true value has not been evaluated under 'China-oriented phenomena' and advanced markets such as Japan, America and so on. For a systematic support for least developed countries of ASEAN, it need to make a comprehensive program called ASEAN Development Initiative and expand a specific development cooperation business as using a various consultation channel (cf. Kwon 2009. 3. 10.). Although ASEAN underwent an economic crisis in the late 1990s and hard to avoid the world economic crisis currently progressing due to the economic structure of foreign dependent type, it will reach a high economic growth again if the world economy is normalized through the cheap labor, abundant resources, regional cooperation and so on. ASEAN plans to complete the economic community until 2015, and then its role will be bigger (cf. Park 2009. 3. 9).

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⁸⁸ This scale is about a tenth of 23 million dollars of Japan (The Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade 2004: 128, cited in Kim 2006: 89). The history of socio-cultural exchange and cooperation between ASEAN and Japan is a very long-standing one, and it can be said that the knowhow and accumulation of information are also a world-class level (Yeo 2007: 259-261).

in 1989, Korea implemented 100 businesses such as trade, investment, technology transfer, human resources development and offered the total of 27 million dollar to ASEAN nations from 1990 to 2003.⁸⁹

As a joint declaration on ASEAN-Korea comprehensive cooperation and companion partnership was adopted in ASEAN Summit Conference in 2004, the cooperation relationship between Korea and ASEAN was heighten. This declaration commemorates the 15 anniversary of establishing relationship between Korea and ASEAN and contains contents that expand and solidify the cooperation relationship between Korea and ASEAN to all the fields which have been continued by that time. That is, the declaration not only established a concrete plan of free trade but also includes the contents such as the support for mutual security and diplomacy policy, cooperation in new knowledge-based industries and new technology fields, help for adaptation to globalization, cooperation in the international environment, and reinforcement and deepen of cooperation for building East Asia community (Vatikiotis 1999: 77).

After ASEAN-Korea exchange was started, the contents of it for about 10 years were limited to the tariff, tourism and exchange of public officials, but the exchange of academic activities was begun at last since 2000s. In this regard, starting with ASEAN-Korea academic exchange of Korean Association of Southeast Asian Studies and home-care workshop of Korean senior citizens of Korean Helpage, a diverse activities were implemented such as ASEAN-Korea postdoctoral fellowship of National Research Foundation of Korea in 2002, the exchange of ASEAN cultural leadership of Korean National Commission for UNESCO in 2003, the first year of home-care of ASEAN senior citizens of Korean Helpage, the exchange of ASEAN-Korea adolescent of Korea Youth Association, academic cooperation for ASEAN-Korea solidarity of Korean Association of Southeast Asian Studies, ASEAN postdoctoral fellowship of National Research Foundation of Korea, the exchange of ASEAN-Korea international college students of Daejeon University, a commemorative stamp as a special industry for the 15 anniversary of establishment of conversational relationship of ASEAN-Korea and a tour program of Korean wave's stars. Offering the second forum of East Asian community to Malaysian Foreign Office and implementing the Fellowship of ASEAN-Korea artists exchange also have a special meaning. Each contents of the industry include ASEAN-Korea relationship history, ASEAN area studies and the community-centric workshop of the elderly health industry, ASEAN rising scientists training to domestic study associations, ASEAN-Korea cultural artists exchange and seminar, support for development of ASEAN model though the elderly home-care industry training of Korean style, enhancement of

⁸⁹ After this, the support money for ASEAN started to increase rapidly and in 2004, 27,720,000 dollars was budgeted for support money for 8 countries except Brunei and Singapore (The Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade 2004: 103, cited in Kim 2006: 90).

mutual understanding through ASEAN-Korea adolescent's exchange, ASEAN-Korea scholar's exchange through academic contests, ASEAN rising scientists training to domestic study associations, ASEAN-Korea college student's exchange industry, support for study of the future of ASEAN-Korea and academic contests, support for development of ASEAN-Korea model through home-care industry training of Korean style, ASEAN-Korea craft experts exchange and visit, publication of commemorative stamp for the 15 anniversary of ASEAN-Korea relationship, tour performance of Korean wave's stars to the two nations for the 15 anniversary of ASEAN-Korea relationship, the discourses on ASEAN+3, the financial world, academia and specialists, and mutual visit and seminar of ASEAN-Korea cultural artists(cf. Kim 2006: 90-94).

Since 2003, ASEAN-Korea cooperation industry not only increases rapidly, the industries are divided and implemented by each field from 2004. The number of ASEAN-Korea industries in 2003 increased twice compared to last year, and the socio-cultural exchange and cooperation between ASEAN and Korea are leading the number of increase of the industry. In 2003, the supervision group of socio-cultural exchange and cooperation between ASEAN and Korea was diversified from an international organization to government organization, civilian group, academic society, private university and so on, and the contents of the industry were also diversified into scholarship, health care, art, adolescent college education, etc. Although the number of the industry and the contents in 2004 did not show a great difference compared to last year, a stamp for the 15 anniversary of ASEAN-Korea dialogue partnership was published and Korean wave's stars visited to Southeast Asian areas. After this, the exchange of cultural artists was more vitalized.

In ASEAN-Korea-related industries implemented for the past 20 years, there are not so many applied to cultural exchanges in a narrow sense not the socio-cultural exchange between ASEAN and Korea in a wide sense. But as AMCA+3 was established and Korea prepared the event through the 15 anniversary with ASEAN, the socio-cultural exchange and cooperation between ASEAN and Korea has been increasing. As the exchange in cultural fields was bothered from 2005, the implementing agency of the industry was changed from Korean National Commission for UNESCO to Korea Arts & Culture Education Service and movie-related industry was newly started. This change seems to mean that the basis of cultural industry turns from the socio-cultural exchange for assisting the cooperation in politics, economy and security into the direction of cooperation for cultural industry itself(cf. Kim 2006: 92-93). However, in overall aspect of exchange and cooperation, there are not a great difference in terms of that the cooperation in the fields of politics, economy, security and diplomacy is still considered as much more important thing compared to the cooperation and exchange in the socio-cultural ones.

The official relationship between Korea and ASEAN was started in 1989, but the business of socio-cultural exchange drew attention gradually from the mid-1990s and started to increase rapidly since 2003 having the 15 anniversary of the relationship's establishment ahead. This current change was interpreted due to increase of business in the field of cultural arts and cultural industry and this is not unrelated to the installation of AMCA and the meeting of ASEAN+3 held there. This tendency makes it possible to anticipate that cultural exchange with not only ASEAN but also Southeast Asia through other organization or association will also increase. When considering that this year is the year commemorating the 20 anniversary of relationship's establishment between Korea and ASEAN, it needs to emphasize that we should take a view of the past and present of socio-cultural exchange between Korea and Southeast Asia, and seek upcoming future and build and implement practical ways as facing up to the achievement and problem.

Besides, this tendency of the change of ASEAN-Korea relationship is producing the situation emphasizing the importance of the socio-cultural exchange between ASEAN and Korea for regional unification and regional cooperation in a new changes of worldwide level in which globalization accelerates and world economy encounters crises, and this is not unrelated to the period and situational requirement that we should practice a practical partnership between Korea and Southeast Asia and seek a practical way about the relationship between Korea and Southeast Asia that we should establish well-friendship, and implement this. Thus, in current situation in which ASEAN-Korea practical partnership and mutual friendship are emphasized, it is a good thing that the importance of cultural cooperation based on cultural diplomacy and socio-cultural exchange for regional cooperation is being more magnified although it is rather late. In spite of the importance of the socio-cultural exchange between ASEAN and Korea, it is a fact that the socio-cultural exchange between ASEAN and Korea focuses on 'the public relations' diplomacy for reconsideration of national image' rather than 'the expansion of the base for cultural exchange'. But above all, establishment and practice of organization, institution and policy enable to expand the understanding about society and culture of ASEAN regions should be valued to found and expand a practical partnership and a good-neighbor friendship in ASEAN-Korea relationship in future and followed by more serious worry and introspection about how to establish and carry out a differentiated cultural diplomacy of ASEAN-Korea relationship in the process of worldwide social change. It is worth reconsidering the vision and strategy for socio-cultural exchange between Korea and ASEAN to use win-win strategy which is practical and beneficial for both, and for this, the contents of socio-cultural exchange should be strengthened from its foundation. And then, the most important task should be reflective introspection and political support for a

practical sociocultural exchange between ASEAN and Korea, based on a friendly relationship. So, this paper was written as a part of the academic purpose to suggest concrete ways and alternatives for the practice of this.

Although it is a fact that internal and external studies on the relationship of ASEAN and ASEAN-Korea have been increased rapidly since 2000, it is still focused on politics, economy, security and diplomacy (Kim 2006; Archarya 2001; Haacke 2003; Narinw 2002; Thomas 2002). Considering the national goal and the vision of Korea to improve national competitiveness as seeking regional cooperation through international organizations, it is no wonder that the interest in the relationship of ASEAN and ASEAN-Korea is high like this. However, when thinking about that after starting of ASEAN+3, the Korean Government had a particular interest in exchange and regional cooperation with Southeast Asian nations (Thomas 2002: 8, cited in Kim 2006: 72) and agreed with “A Joint Declaration for ASEAN-Korea Cooperation and Companion Relationship”, the area of the study on ASEAN need to be expanded and deepened continuously. Of course, it is a fact that there were many studies promoting interest in the history and culture of East Asia including ones of Southeast Asia in spite of the trend of politics and economy-centric studies (Park 2006; Bae 2003; Shin 2004). But it is hard to deny that interest in ASEAN is still concentrated on political and economical interests. In this sense, interest in the socio-cultural exchange and cooperation between ASEAN and Korea is still on the short level.

The Role of ASEAN-Korea Center for the Revitalization of the Socio-Cultural Exchange between ASEAN and Korea

ASEAN-Korea Center is an international organization established in March 2009 as a part of the purpose for trade increase, investment promotion, tourism vitalization and expansion of cultural exchange between Korea and ASEAN member states. ‘ASEAN-Korea Center Establishment-Memorandum of Understanding’ was signed in the 11th ASEAN-Korea Summit Conference held in Singapore in November 2007, and as all ASEAN member states including Korea finished ratification ASEAN-Korea Center opened a new chapter in cooperation relationship institutionalizing cooperation between Korea and ASEAN. ASEAN-Korea Center is a international organization established as a part of the purpose for vitalizing human exchange between Korea and ASEAN and contributing to improve understanding and friendship between both nations' people. As a international organization established by both Korea and ASEAN, it carry out a hub role of internal and external information and human network related to ASEAN. Therefore, it can be said that it is a organization which has good condition for a leading role to produce, distribute and consume the debates and discourses on ASEAN immigrants in Korea and multiculturalism. ASEAN-Korea

Center contributes to building a long-lasting community in both regions of ASEAN-Korea and peace, prosperity and development of the regions, and also try to strengthen continuous and true partnership for expansion of communication and empathy between the people of Korea and the one of ASEAN. As a channel for cooperation of both regions, ASEAN-Korean Center devotes effort to meet the expectation of the Center member governments and the major organizations related to all sorts of fields such as economy, society and culture. As a basic agreement of ASEAN-Korea FTA was signed in ASEAN-Korea Summit Conference in 2005 and a product trade agreement was negotiated in May 2006, ASEAN required early implementation of economy cooperation industry specified in the basic agreement. The basic agreement specifies that ASEAN-Korea FTA executive commission supervises to carry out industries and a effective implementation in accordance with the agreed deadline. For this reason, a opinion was suggested that progress direction and future progress plan of Korea need to be examined comprehensively and systematically in the frame of ASEAN-Korea economy cooperation vision related to ASEAN-Korea Center's validity investigation business specified in Article 2 of the Annex of Economy Cooperation.

Because ASEAN-Korea Center was received a lot of attention from ASEAN and considered as a core business having a great influence on economic and trade cooperation in future, it was established through multilateral considerations such as support condition and progress direction of Korea, validity of the business, liaison effect with advance of the private sector and so on. Therefore, the progress validity of the ASEAN-Korea Center was examined, and in the process of progress as a representative economic cooperation business related to ASEAN-Korea FTA, the scale and progress direction of the business and an effective business system was considered for establishment of ASEAN-Korea Center.

In the FTA economic cooperation progress, the importance of the business of ASEAN-Korea Center was analyzed and the appropriateness of support and the necessity of the business progress was examine through a research on the position and interested matter of ASEAN member states. For this, the situation of economic cooperation in the major states such as Australia, New Zealand, USA, India, etc was examined as a model of ASEAN-Korea Center and management plan was established through management system, the scale of appropriateness business and excavation of a promising business as a center of organization (especially utilization and way of existing organization) and construction, necessary budget. Major policy assignment such as establishment agreement sign of ASEAN-Korea Center, secure of necessary budget, the sustainability of business progress was also examined.

ASEAN-Korea Center was established on the basis of purpose, background,

and necessity as above. ASEAN-Korea Center has implemented diverse and wide activities to advance economic exchange of ASEAN-Korea for the past five years. It is also a fact that it has many works and activities to vitalize the socio-cultural exchange between ASEAN and Korea in the future. In this sense, I'll suggest to build a cooperation system with ASEAN-Korea Center and Korean Institute of Southeast Asian Studies as a alternative for vitalizing the socio-cultural exchange between ASEAN and Korea. In the position of Korea, Southeast Asia is belonged to a representative region for strategic exchange. To vitalize a correct socio-cultural exchange between ASEAN and Korea, the exchange programs in the direction of practical help and cooperation for both should be made through a close post management about Southeast Asian universities that exchange agreement was signed with. And selection standard for a university that a new exchange agreement will be signed with needs to be systematization. Especially, when signing a new exchange agreement, a close pre-investigation and a management system about it needs to be built. Also, it should suggest a differentiative vision and strategy as dividing a state which exchange agreement was already signed with and a state which exchange agreement will be signed with and propose a way for systematization of exchange in the case that exchange agreement was already signed. (For example, it needs to specify the way to increase practical benefits of exchange of adolescent, student, artist and cultured person, expand the sphere of exchange subject, suggest a practical way to make qualitative increase and propose a practical exchange way for expansion and deepen of exchange subject).

It needs to use the knowhow of activities of Korean Institute of Southeast Asian Studies as a way for more practical socio-cultural exchanges between ASEAN and Korea. Korean Institute of Southeast Asian Studies has not only offered the chance for Southeast Asian students to experience Korean culture for the past 20 years, but also applied this experience to the program to attract international students. For practical socio-cultural exchange between Korea and ASEAN as vitalizing this, government and private level should support these activities more actively. For this, voluntary participation of students is necessary and a strategy to attract this is also required. Above all, it should start from the awareness of the importance of student exchange program for a practical socio-cultural exchange between ASEAN and Korea.

Furthermore, the windows for socio-cultural exchange should be simplified to vitalize the exchange in future. It is hard to deny that the role of ASEAN-Korea Center is important than any other thing to vitalize the economic exchange and cooperation between ASEAN and Korea. But the role of Korean Institute of Southeast Asian Studies (KISEAS) is also important to vitalize the socio-cultural exchange. Therefore, it can be said that building cooperation system for both ASEAN-Korea Center and Korean Institute of Southeast Asian Studies has

important meaning than any other thing.

In this sense, utilizing multilateral channels such as ASEAN-Korea Center, and Korean Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, Institute for International Exchange Programs in universities etc, it needs to simplify a organization that can assume full charge of international cooperation tasks to a specialized organization that can implement this tasks correctly. However, to achieve a correct socio-cultural exchange, reconsideration about current politics, diplomacy, security and economy-centric systems should be preceded. For this, it needs to use the activities of Korean Institute of Southeast Asian Studies and knowhow about it. And cooperation between ASEAN-Korea Center and Korean Institute of Southeast Asian Studies should be preceded than any other thing. It needs to organize a task force team for study on international exchange way in ASEAN-Korea Center and use this. Furthermore, it should not only explore for practical ways continuously but also as filing the whole process of the discourses on this, use it as a basic material to implement this in future. In conclusion, the exchange with the universities in Southeast Asia is important to revitalize the socio-cultural exchange between ASEAN and Korea. A university will carry out a role as a think tank to prepare a practical way for ASEAN-Korea cooperation and exchange.

Concluding Remarks: The Role of ASEAN-Korea Center for the Socio-Cultural Exchange and Cooperation between ASEAN and Korea

Southeast Asia has developed a close relationship with Korea as “a warm neighbor, a companion of prosperity” through politics, economy and whole society. Southeast Asia that has a potentiality of development is the second trade partner with Korea, and not only occupies a big importance in our economy as a region in which a lot of overseas direct investment was put, but also are very closely approaching to us culturally through marriage immigration, Korea wave, etc, but understanding about the regions of Southeast Asia in Korea is very insufficient. A skeptical opinion on continuous cultural exchange in future is being expressed with a worry that cultural exchange between Korea and Southeast Asia has rather been proceeded indirectly. Above all, because the cooperation of diplomacy, economy and cultural tourism with Southeast Asia can be deepened when we have wide and in depth understanding about the whole culture of Southeast Asia, the role of ASEAN-Korea Center which has carried out the role of bridgehead in the fields of exchange and cooperation with Southeast Asia will be bigger and heavier. In the current situation in which multiculturalism is being advanced and deepened day by day, this will be the requirement of the time and national agenda.

ASEAN-Korea Center need to seek a way so that Korean people can have a

overall and comprehensive understanding about the whole culture of Southeast Asia and offer a diverse services so that Korea can become a warm neighbor, the companion of the prosperity. All sorts of projects of ASEAN-Korea Center offer a momentum which can draw not only the participation of Korea but also the one of Southeast Asia, and it should go ahead to become a common cultural assets in the active participation of both.

With 'the 25 anniversary of establishment of ASEAN-Korea dialogue partners' and 'the second ASEAN-Korea Special Summit Conference' in 2004 as a momentum, the role of ASEAN-Korea will have more important meaning, and ASEAN-Korea should make it a good chance to improve the achievement in politics, economy, diplomacy and socio-cultural exchange through the role's expansion and deepen. ASEAN-Korea Center need to push forward the donation and rental of culture-related exhibits, cultural assets and cultural heritages through a mutual consultation with Southeast Asian governments and related organization or group, and should make a bridgehead of a practical bilateral cultural exchange through cultural plan and exhibition. With this as a momentum, it is expected that Korea will expand and deepen a systematical and equational bilateral cultural exchange with Southeast Asia and make it a chance to respect and understand deeply about each other.

Current official channel to improve awareness of Southeast Asia and expand cultural exchange through it is limited to the cultural exchange event of ASEAN-Korea Center and cultural arts event held in Southeast Asian states' embassies. Considering this situation, it should seek the way that ASEAN-Korea Center and Korean Institute of Southeast Asian Studies establish a strategy partnership and always operate a consultation channel to develop a mutual balanced cultural exchange between Korea and Southeast Asia as mentioned above.

In ASEAN policy of Korea, socio-cultural fields tend to have been considered as that it is still in the level of an abstract theoretical discourse and has meaning only as a material for the contents to support political and economical benefits rather than plan, establishment and implementation of policy based on socio-cultural purpose itself. In this situation, there is a possibility that the original meaning for vitalization of socio-cultural exchange will be faded and fallen into a subordinate thing. This point should not be overlooked. Also, it should not be forgotten that the bilateral companion relationship which is a foundation of exchange and cooperation of ASEAN-Korea did not become a practical things and has been a obstacle to form a good friendship between both (cf. The Research Group for East Asian Community 2006). The slogan of ASEAN-Korea Special Summit Conference that emphasizes a practical partnership and a good friendship cannot be unrelated to this.

Here, awareness of world, human and thing according to the sequence of

politics, economy, society and culture that have been taken for granted in Korea is lied. Awareness of socio-cultural phenomena was taken for granted to be cognized according to the order of politics, economy, society and culture. Politics is the first and economy is next and society and culture follow economy. This makes one to cognize that the meaning of society and culture is subordinate to politics and economy. Because this awareness, behavior and the method of approach is too free, they were the foundation of all cognition. Therefore, awareness of society and culture cannot but being moved behind politics and economy. This is also reflected to the awareness of ASEAN-Korea without any filter. Therefore, it needs to watch this again from a socio-cultural perspective and sight over the discourses on economic community based on political and economic composition and simple economic bloc to normalize the relationship of ASEAN-Korea and establish a relationship of cooperation and exchange under bilateral mutual acknowledgement (cf. Kim 2005; Hong 2003). It will be hard to achieve a correct cultural cooperation and exchange without a serious worry and introspection of what is the culture in cultural exchange.

Korea society has been a testing ground for multicultural society for a long time and the advancement of multicultural society is also being achieved in a considerable level (APICIEU *et al.* 2007).⁹⁰ Considering that about 10% of the whole population consists of multicultural families, it can be interpreted that it has a meaning as a clue defining that the idea of a single-race nation in Korea society is just a myth. As the major causes leading these changes in Korea society, a diverse factors can be the examples such as labor immigrants and marriage immigrants from Southeast Asia, increase of overseas trip between Korea and Southeast Asia and change of the meaning, bilateral study abroad between Korea and Southeast Asia (The most part of a study abroad from Korea to Southeast Asia consists of a study abroad in early age and overseas study), overseas expansion to Southeast Asia as a business partner of Korean, and the rapid increase of Korean church's missionary activity to Southeast Asia. It is an

⁹⁰ Professor Oh Myoung Seok (Oh 2009) has also pointed out the increase of concern about multiculturalism sensibility and attitude in Korean society in a contribution of a domestic daily newspaper. He pointed out that “one of the remarkable changes in the present Korean society is that multiculturalism sensibility and attitude is increasing. In the background, there is the change of reality that Korean society is changing into a multiracial society and political democratization was largely advanced.” and diagnoses that “If multiculturalism sensibility refuses uniformity by a mainstream culture and means consideration for the culture of minority and tolerance for cultural difference, one can have a question about that this change really happened for the past 10 years.” (Oh 2009. 3. 10.). Like this, multiculturalism in Korean society receives attention as a sort of experiment, and we will be able to make an epistemological base to vitalize socio-cultural exchange between Korea and Southeast Asia when corresponding with concern and practice about bilateral cultural communication of Korea-Southeast Asia relationship and cultural diversity acknowledging the value of difference. ASEAN-Korea Special Summit Conference can be also embodied correctly when offering a chance to make the base of mutual understanding for building a mutual communication system over just a event.

undeniable fact that though these activities, the mutual contact and exchange between Korea and Southeast Asia become frequent and the characteristic is also being changed completely from the previous one. By the localization about globalization, that is like globalization, the exchange and the cooperation of the Korean Government and Southeast Asian countries and private level is increasing and direct exchange between Korean local government and Southeast Asian government is also being achieved frequently.⁹¹

It is estimated that Korean society is in the time in which a new perspective and the method of approach are required to build a practical partnership with Southeast Asia and establish and strengthen a good partnership between both. As an example, the adolescent educational program is in the time to ensure internal stability (Hong 2004b). Adolescent exchange assumes a very important part in the aspect of future-oriented cultural exchange. Unlike a program for the older generation, it should be adjusted for increasing sensibility and imagination about language acquisition or culture. It can be a chance to get a practical effectiveness of cultural exchange in the aspect of that it becomes a chance to build a group network with individual as seeking the development of sensibility about language and culture. It can be said that how to operate is crucial to estimate success and failure of the exchange. On the basis of sensibility about language and culture, both state's students can become a chance to form a diverse human resources for a practical exchange of ASEAN-Korea in the fields of scholarship, business, diplomacy, etc in future. It is desirable that Korea develops and utilizes an intensive program which can make adolescents from Southeast Asia to stay in Korea for a long time and learn about history, language and culture in ASEAN-Korea regions. For this, it needs to develop and implement a long-term program to expand and deepen mutual understanding about both cultures over the near-sighted eye about the adolescent exchange. Making this a starting point to correctly establish the relationship between Korea and Southeast Asia in the aspect of socio-cultural exchange can be a practical strategy of Korea to vitalize socio-cultural exchange between Korea and Southeast Asia.⁹²

⁹¹ Regional NGOs in Korea itself develop and implement a diverse programs through solidarity with local governments and regional NGOs in ASEAN regions. For more specific contents, see a case study (Hong 2006) on NGO activities in Mokpo city and the meaning. Meanwhile, The Ministry of Culture, Sports and Tourism also collects and analyses a lot of information about cultural activities of international organizations and supports studies on cultural cooperation and socio-cultural policy including NGO and private sector. This offers a case proving that government and private sector seek measures for a new change in the present Korean society (Korean Institute of Culture and Tourism Policy 2005: 177, 336, cited in Kim 2006: 73).

⁹² Professor Kim Min Jeong (Kim 2006: 100-101) suggested for revitalization of ASEAN-Korea cultural cooperation business as follows. First, it should consider of the autonomy of ASEAN when supporting fund. Second, it should carefully select a proper business partner. Third, it should focus on learning about ASEAN as we let other people know Korea. Fourth, learning about ASEAN has a very important meaning for internationalization of Korea and development of cultural attitude of Korean because understanding and respect about ASEAN

Also, a code of conduct like “A Agenda of Conduct for Multinational Cultural Mission of ASEAN-Korea” can be suggested. Such a code of conduct which can be a try to materialize the sight and the purpose for cultural exchange and cooperation with Southeast Asian states in the region of Asia will be able to include a specific and realistic rule about the concept of culture. For the business, it needs to expand the role of NGO and emphasize to build a network of diverse culture-related organizations. Cultural business related to the development of ASEAN will be able to include a compilation of cultural dictionary and a production of cultural map of ASEAN-Korea, building ASEAN-Korea Center, and a business for a network of ASEAN-Korea cultural information.⁹³

In fact, it is hard to deny that ASEAN socio-cultural exchange and cooperation business of Korea have had some limits and problems in a various aspects. This has a indivisible relation with the policy and the goal of Korean ‘cultural diplomacy’. It is a fact that although the Korean Government has emphasized the importance of cultural diplomacy since the 21st century, the basis has been in the level of national economic development and consolidation of competitiveness. Therefore, the contents of ASEAN cultural exchange have been limited to the dispatch of performance group and support of Korean studies, etc, and focused on “Public Relations Diplomacy for Improving National Image of Korea” and “Setting of relationship with ASEAN States as Economic Partner in Accordance with Korean Economic Development” rather than popularization of cultural right and facilitation of communication based on socio-cultural context

history and culture is directly connected to promote cultural diversity in Korea. Fifth, it should consider and utilize ASEAN people in Korea or Korean residents in ASEAN. Finally, official ASEAN exchange of Government should be paired with grasping the present exchange condition in an unofficial and a various field of society and supporting it. This proposal is full of suggestions for establishment of ASEAN-Korea relationship. I want to suggest reillumination and utilization of a new cultural value concept according to creation of a new cultural concept through a serious introspection and research about cultural concept, expansion and utilization of cultural importance in the function and the role of ASEAN-Korea Center, establishment of Southeast Asian Cultural Institute, and construction and implementation of characterization strategy way, investigation of Korean Cultural Institute present condition and its management real condition, establishment and extension of Korean Cultural Institute, utilization of knowledge and information about ASEAN society of Korean resident abroad, development and utilization of long-term program for expansion of cultural atmosphere of mutual respect and understanding about both sides of ASEAN-Korea cultural agents including adolescent, increase of activities and the role importance of culture-related NGO when supporting and promoting the socio-cultural exchange and cooperation between ASEAN and Korea and so on.

⁹³ In fact, this proposal is a thing changed into a Korean type from “Behavior Agenda for ASEAN-Japan Multinational Cultural Mission” declared by Japan in 1998 after Asian economic crisis in 1997(Kim 2006: 97). I think that this proposal is full of suggestions as a way for revitalization of ASEAN-Korea socio-cultural exchange in future in the aspect of that it promotes development of ASEAN-Korea relationship and expansion of exchange as a way sticking to the principle of mutual understanding and in the aspect of that it contains a concrete way enable to boost bilateral communication acknowledging the right as cultural agents of both Korea and ASEAN.

(The Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade 2005). In this sense, the socio-cultural exchange and cooperation between ASEAN and Korea should include specific, practical and realistic agenda that sets a assignment for creation of alternative value based on mutual understanding and can carry out this, and it need to be adjusted in the direction of the establishment of bilateral communication system and materialization of value system not the mechanism of Korea-centric unilateral support or donation. This has a close relation to the work to build a differentiative socio-cultural exchange and cooperation system from ASEAN policy of Japan and the one of America, Chinese and Europe, etc. It is in a situation in which development and practice of a perspective and a sight to set a relationship that can be a mutual understanding and a practical help is required. I hope that 2014 ASEAN-Korea Special Summit held in Busan, Korea in December of 2014 not only identifies the importance of the socio-cultural exchange between ASEAN and Korea and suggests a specific way to establish the identity of ASEAN-Korea relationships over a simple one-time event but also can become a very important turning point that can build a cultural foundation for a practical principle about it.

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**SOUTHEAST ASIAN CONTEMPORARY
LITERATURE: LOOKING FOR VICTIMS,
DISCOURSE OF COMMUNISM IN INDONESIAN
LITERATURE**

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SOUTHEAST ASIAN CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE: LOOKING FOR VICTIMS, DISCOURSE OF COMMUNISM IN INDONESIAN LITERATURE

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Abstract

Southeast Asian literature nowadays has its penchants to look back to the past, by negate the opprobrium memories. Some historical events are used as the main theme in literature, as in Indonesia, the question of communism in the post New Order is often brought up. The collapse of Indonesia New Order and rise reformation movement implies society demand of more democratized nation, of which freedom of expression is expected. Yet, despite of Indonesia growing democratization, restriction of expression is still applied especially to left ideology, particularly communism. The discourse of communism in Indonesia has been associated to atheism, criminals, and threat to national integrity and worsened by the ban of this ideology in parliament regulation MPRS no. XXV/MPRS/1966 which has not been withdrawn. Reformation assumed as the deconstruction of New Order authoritarian style turns out did not bring any significantly-fundamental implication in absolving communism and regarding it as another ideology that may be spread due to authentic democracy. This situation is reflected in Indonesia contemporary literature like *Pulang* by Leila Chudory and *Amba's* Laksmi Pamuntjak, two highly-praised novels and even award-winning one (*Pulang*). Using comparative literature and Foucault's theory of power relation within knowledge and discourse, our research indicates that despite of Indonesian communist struggle within the theme, neither *Pulang* nor *Amba* deconstruct misguiding conception of communism in Indonesia.

Keywords: communism, discourse, power, literature, deconstruction

Introduction

The Rise and Falls of Communism in Southeast Asia

The history of Southeast Asia region is characterized by the major conflicts that raised by the dominant power from the regional player and from its external player. This region in the past was a dominion of great kingdoms that used their influences in socio-political and cultural in their vast territory, in their glorious times, eg. Majapahit and Srivijaya in Indonesia; Sultanate of Malacca in Malaysia, Siamese Kingdom in Thailand, etc. Geographically, this region was divided by huge water area (South Chinese Sea and other inter-islands seas) into two main appearance of earth surface, vast highland in the west which is connected to the mainland of Asian continent, and the archipelago who sometimes called as “Nusantara” by its inhabitant. This natural phenomenon not only contributed to the diversity of natural resources in this region but also social, cultural, and political diversity of the inhabitants. In one time this huge water area was a challenge for the people, but then it’s also a catalyst of changes in this region (Phillips 22-23). The blue surface of earth, with advancing in technology, developed many interactions of the inhabitants, people to people, basically in maritime trades by changing highly needed and praised goods or commodities.

This region neighbor to the two oceans, Pacific Ocean in the west and Indonesian Ocean in the east, it could be opportunities and threats. In fact, these oceans shaped the destiny and future of this region. Essentially in maps, we seeing this region in context of maritime trade, this region is an intersection of two main destinations of maritime trades, China and India. This blue surface also was welcoming more seafarers, traders, and missionaries from another part of the world. International traders contributed to acquaint specific commodities that endemically, only grow up in this region, things that was looking up for by many European traders; spices and gold.

These famous commodities not only brought more traders in this region, but also simultaneously ambassadorial relationship between kingdoms in this area with Chinese emperors, Indian chiefs of state, and European kings. From these foreign powers, only Europeans who brought more. They sent in spirit of imperialism, administrative officials, troops, and vassal kings to establish colonies and even more, an overseas kingdom. We acknowledged Dutch who controlled the archipelago that soon become the state of Indonesia; British in Myanmar, Burma, Malaya, Singapore, and Sarawak; French who expanded her authority upon Indochina (Cambodia, Laos, and Vietnam); and alternately Spanish and American possessed the islands of Philippines, only Thailand who could vindicate its sovereignty over its own territory. This European colonization continued shape the modern geopolitics and geostrategic of the region.

Time changed and so does the present. Colonialism as a legacy to control another part of globe and regarded as a cruel politic of state. Colonialism is truly foreign political rule or control imposed on a people to make them suffer. In Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy 2006, colonialism etymologically derived from Latin word *colonus* or farmer. The addition of *ism* in this term, it makes sense that the occupational of land is an ideology, a set of thinking. The land occupation by foreign people are considered same as the farmer did in past years. Nowadays this term “is used to describe the settlement of North America, Australia, New Zealand, Algeria, and Brazil, places that were controlled by a large population of permanent European residents”. The term of colonialism has close ties with the term of imperialism and sometimes anyone would confuse with this two terms. The differences are marked by the economic exploitation or form of governing the colonies. Colonialism may take in many forms: it can be political, legal, economic, cultural and social. A political, economic and cultural policy and practice by which several foreign states explored, conquered, settled, exploited, maintained and extended their control over large areas of foreign lands and its people who ceased to control their own territories, resources and national destiny. Colonialism morally contradicts and unrelated to humanity, in which humanity comes from highly praised civilization. Aimé Césaire, a man of letters and opposant of colonialism from French overseas *département*, Martinique said, *“I say that between colonization and civilization there is an infinite distance; that out of all the colonial expeditions that have been undertaken, out of all the colonial statutes that have been drawn up, out of all the memorandum that have been dispatched by all the ministries, there could not come a single human value.”* (Césaire²).

At last, the economic exploitation of colonies as a duty to fill up state treasury particularly during wars who involved many imperialist states (World War I and II), it's brought more changes to the colonies. Many foreigners brought in as labor in factories and plantations, and a part of them is registered as official troops who had duties to help control the territory. As in Southeast Asian countries, in Malaysia and Indonesia, English or Dutch official and administrators brought in Tamil laborers and Chinese miners to operate all plantation and mining area in Malaya and Sumatera. The changes of demographic stimulated the awareness of being in one nation in all colonies. Plus, the modern state's institution, court of law, cultural agencies: Printed mass media and penetration of modern education, and historical event as the victory of Japan from Russia in Russo-Japan war caused to emerge the nationalist movements. The nationalist believed that as a nation, even in a pluralistic state, consisted of multi-ethnics, a nation shared many similarities and it would bring distinctiveness and differentiate with others. Dan Brown wrote, *“Thus, the starting point for the nationalist ideology is the assertion that nation is the*

community which possesses both cultural distinctiveness and group consciousness: in other words that there exists an ethnic community. The incipient sense of ethnic-national consciousness can be promoted by the ideologues through the fostering of various symbols of cultural distinctiveness, such as the promotion of the language and literature of the group or the lauding of its distinctive dress and lifestyle.” (Brown 20).

After several years under Japanese occupation in Asia and Pacific which is ended in a signing ceremony of the treaty of surrender in Paris, Japan left Southeast Asia as region without ruler. This opportunity used by several independence movements to proclaim their independence, their liberty, and declare their colonies as an emerging state, a third world state. One of the seekers of opportunity is Indonesian nationalist who declared its independence in August 17, 1945 and rejected foreign control over the new state called Indonesia. No one of the ex-ruler states, the ex-colonialist state can approve that the fact, they lose their colonies. In Indonesia, Dutch had operated military aggression called *operation product I and II* to take back its precious archipelago; French tried to seize back Indochina and fought against Vietnamese nationalist until she is pushed out from her last possession in Asia. There are countries who could secure their independence. The Philippines is granted her independence sincerely from USA in 1946, Burma from Great Britain in 1946 and Malaysia in 1958.

During the Cold War, which began after World War II, the spread of communism is a theme and joint threat for US and its ally. Although US and USSR together fought against axis countries in World War II, but their cooperation and alliance is not last too long. The fighting between diverge pole of ideology, liberalism which promoted by US and its ally against the idea of communism which bring by USSR, became an open fight in many zones in this world. The ideas of communism soon became a threat during decolonization process in many countries in the world, and not exception in Southeast Asia.

Malaysia had experienced with the insurrection so-called the Malayan Emergency from 1948 to 1960. This uprising was driven by Malaya communist partisans. The actors mainly are Chinese who not satisfied with state organizational, and wanted some liberty to non-native people (Strachan 8). This insurrection annihilated after British troops was deployed to this peninsular region. Together with Singapore, Sabah, and Sarawak, Malaya formed a free federation in 1957 and became the state called the Federation of Malaysia in 1963 after Singapore withdrew its membership from the federation.

In mainland part of Southeast Asia, an escalated of political tension due to differ ideology took place in ex-French possession, Indochina. North Vietnamese who ideological is communist fought against its brother, South Vietnam and resulted in the Vietnam War. US intervention on this war made the condition

awful and unhappily, this war was won by the communist counterpart in 1975. The communist controlled all part of Indochina and peace only settled only in a short time. After the communist victory, there were tensions between different communist factions in the region and emerged some wars, the Cambodian-Vietnamese War of 1975-1989 and the Sino-Vietnamese War of 1979. In Cambodia, the victory of communist faction, Khmer Rouge carried its country to a humanitarian disaster, the Cambodian Genocide. Many Cambodians murdered during its dominance (Hilton 12).

Timor Leste or East Timor, a half portion of the island of Timor, was under Portuguese ruling for over 500 years. This colonization not brought many changes for many East Timorese. They wanted more. The weak economy condition of Portugal related to wars which had run out much money in his African colonies: Angola and Mozambique, and international excommunication from the world, contributed to the collapse of Salazar's dictatorship in Portugal. His period of ruling is marked with political tendency to approach east power, USSR. This phenomenon also occurred in many of his colonies, eg. East Timor. In this tiny possession, there were movements who wanted to gain full independence from Portugal but ideologically affiliated to communism, especially Maoism. This movement reflected by the emergence of political parties such as FRETELIN. They was success to overthrow the Portuguese colonial government and proclaimed independence as Free State of East Timor for three months in 1975. But this liberty lasted for a while, because Indonesia annexed this territory soon after. This Indonesian action was believed as a result of US and its ally in Oceania, Asutralia pressure. Their pressure for Indonesia due to their anxiety of the Domino Theory would happen, that one by one a country in Southeast Asia become communist country (Salla 213). However after struggling for almost two decades, this tiny territory became a nation and state under recognition of UN and world nations in 2006.

Communism and Indonesia

Threat of communism also became motive to give an excuse for General Suharto in order seizing power in Indonesia in 1965 and initiated a massacre of approximately 500,000 to 1,000,000 persons murdered, accused partisans and alleged members of the Indonesian Communist Party (Zurbuchen 565). However there are little proofs that communist partisans had planned this coup and many scholar doubt the official report (Hilmar 4).

In Indonesia particularly, the effort to dismiss any communist influence and its presence not only takes place in political domain but also in social and cultural domain. In cultural domain, the discourse of anti-communism is emerged during the US anti-communism campaign in Cold War era. Many of US foreign

institution and US donor channelized their donations in education and cultural activity. It is claimed as a way to enhance the education standard in many countries in the world. But the truth is, US and its ally tried to build an alliance to confront the ideas of communism in many part of the world. They supposed to oppose the idea and distributed the idea of liberalism. US organs for propaganda such as CIA created a forum for intellectual who opposed the reclusive ideas under communist regime. They were assembled under forum called Congress for Cultural Freedom which centered in Paris.

After securing his country's independence, Soekarno, the *proclamateur* of Indonesian independence and first Indonesian president has political penchant to the left. He drew a line to be a perfect comrade of the leftist. His foreign policy regarded as solidarity to the communist block and it came to its peak after Soekarno built alliance between Jakarta-Phnom Penh-Hanoi-Peking-Pyongyang. In internal, there are clashes between PKI as the leftist against right wing-faction in military, PSI (Indonesian Socialist Party), Masyumi, scholars and artist anti-communist. The involvement of US in creation of anti-communist discourse in Indonesia was in many ways. US under CIA operation in Indonesia gathered support from scholars who opposed communist ideas. One of these scholars are Sumitro Djojohadikusumo. He was the dean of Faculty of Economics at UI. Sumitro wanted collaboration between Indonesian universities and American universities. Many world high renowned US universities such as UC Berkeley, MIT, Cornell, and Harvard are involved to give technical aid for many Indonesian students, lecturers, and official staffs. Many of Indonesian students from any fields sent abroad to study and they are hoped to implemented the American ideas. Sumitro students is an example, they are titled as "Berkeley Mafia", the architect of modern Indonesian economy and they are believed that had made Indonesia fall into the worst debt in her history and culminated in financial crisis in 1998. Not only gained support from scholars, US also acquired support from literary society in which many of them, poets and writers, had affiliation or sympathizer of PSI. In order to accommodate these supports, US founded an international forum called Congress for Cultural Freedom or CCF, and began its propaganda about intellectual liberty and freedom of expression against the communism. CCF also used to distribute donor to many publications, magazines, literary creations, discussions and cultural seminars.

The Power of Discourse

Generally, Foucault always emphasizes the power of knowledge within this world to explain how a subject is defined and redefined. In this sense, Foucault believed that the production of truth is always redefined from time to time, adjusted to the different framework of knowledge in particular time (concept of

discontinuity). Thus, we can see how knowledge is such a fundamental tool for power distributing itself. However, knowledge itself is not sufficient to elaborate how subject is presented and defined. This very thought eventually led Foucault to sense something more important than knowledge, and it is discourse.

Discourse in Foucauldian sense does not merely refer to linguistic term such text. Discourse is defined as something really context-dependant, for example, discourse of gender, language, and so on (Foucault 8). For Foucault, discourse is rather practical, and thus, practiced. Knowledge itself, is within discourse, and that is why truth within it always renews from time to time as well. Discourse is so powerful, that it uses power to be conducted, in order to produce truth.

Power also doesn't always impose something negative. Instead, power is always presented in any other way. This occurs side by side with discourse as their presents are irreversible. What most likely unpleasant to happen, is when one particular discourse dominates the other and make itself commodified.

Discourse is also distributed from the grass root (Sarup14), unlike modernistic view that seeing power is distributed from above (*top-down*). Accordingly, when the discourse from bottom (grass root) has reached its level to the top, and the attempt to centralize discourse and possessing a mastery over it, we would face the exclusion of discourse. This exclusion doesn't ineluctably have to use coercion or any physical enforcement (although in many historical account, it does happen), but through normalization. Therefore, it is necessary to analyze discourse critically in Foucauldian framework, in order to expose the dominant discourse in one matter, and in this case, the discourse of communism in Indonesian contemporary literature.

Kendall and Wickham (2003) outline steps required in discourse analysis of Foucauldian framework. Yet, firstly we have to assume that discourse has to be recognized as systematic and regular corpus of 'statements'. Only then after recognizing what discourse is, we could go on analyzing it within these steps:

1. The identification of rules of the production of statements, or the structural creation of statements
2. The identification of rules that delimit the sayable (which of course are never rules of closure), what could be said and not from the given statement.
3. The identification of rules that create the spaces in which new statements can be made,
4. The identification of rules that ensure that a practice is material and discursive at the same time.

(Kendall and Wickham 42)

In the case of examining communism discourse within the literature, we could impose these practical methods through analyzing quotations that given by authors, who add value reflecting of which power that holds them. Then, we would separate the 'sayable' – what arguments, in this matter is discourse, given by authors. In the step of 'sayable' and given space identification, Foucault's theory of discourse exclusion is working. Would the discourse of communism of New Order restrict its counterpart? Or would we have another discourse in those novels? This question would be answered by third and fourth step.

Analysis

Amba and Pulang as Literary Works

As domination of counter-communism discourse takes place in cultural, hence we may see it hidden beneath words and narration on contemporary literature of Indonesia. Two novels are presented here to show how that discourse has not yet developed or being replaced even though the symbol of dictatorship and quasi-capitalism, Soeharto, had been eradicated sixteen years ago.

Both *Amba* and *Pulang* deal with lives around eks-tapol (ex-political detainee). The term eks-tapol must be clarified first in the context of Indonesian political map. Eks-tapol is not necessarily guilty – one could be a political detainee in Indonesia only by being affiliated – whether it's intended or not – with the state enemy. Therefore, in this case of 1965 coup attempt, one didn't necessarily need to be PKI (Indonesia Communist Party) participants, volunteer nor supporter to go to jail – though this type would certainly put into. If one was affiliated to PKI participants only because they were engaged within family relationship, the possibility to be alleged as communist was high – even up until now. In other words, when one is labeled as eks-tapol, it doesn't directly impose that he/she is subversive.

This terminology as ex-tapol plays significant role in framing the life of communist sweeping victims in literary works. In *Amba* and *Pulang*, both of the main focus relies on people who didn't stand as 'real' victim of communist sweeping. Means, both Dimas/Lintang or Amba/Bhisma are not within PKI or 'real' communist in their lives, but they were merely-unfortunate had been affiliated with 'real' communist around them.

The novel *Amba* tells the love, life, and journey of Amba and Bhisma. The story taken from old Indian epic, which had adapted to Javanese literature, Mahabharata. Amba a tenacious lady, grew up in Kadipura, a small town in Central Java. She is a daughter of a father, highly regarded teacher in his small town and moderate in political point of view, and her mother, a housewife who attracted to the ideas of communism. In 2006, Amba went to Buru Island. She

was looking for his beloved one, who gave him a daughter called Srikandi. His true love, Bhisma is a doctor who graduated from a university in Leipzig, East Germany. He lose, arrested, and then exiled by the New Order government to Buru Island. When all detainees are released and repatriated, Bhishma choose to stay. He refused to back. Amba met Bhisma when she left Yogyakarta as a university student in third year of English Literature, UGM, for filling up a post as a freelance translator in a regional hospital in Kediri. Although she engaged to another man called Salwa, a young teacher in UGM, Amba felt that Bhisma is her true lover. Their romance was interrupted by sudden events, an attempt to carry out a coup d'état by group of people that has connection to the communist party. This events changed their life in Yogyakarta.

As for *Pulang*, the story rotates on Dimas Suryo's life as political exile in Paris. Dimas Suryo is never a participant in any particular ideology. He merely replace his friend, Hananto, to attend conference in Santiago as journalist. It is true that he worked in *Nusantara* news office, a newspaper suspected affiliated with PKI (Indonesia Communist Party). Yet, Dimas Suryo in whole narration of *Pulang* never states clearly his point of view, and even he is not into the leftist thought. This novel is presented in multiple tones: from Dimas, Lintang (her daughter), Vivienne (his French wife), and Alam (Hananto's son), with one focus, their perspective towards Dimas and leftist ideology. Dimas, since the beginning of his exile has never reconcile peace within. he always recalls Indonesia and always has place for Surti, Hananto's wife of whom Dimas was once in desperately in love with.

***Pulang* and False Look of Communist Victims**

Pulang tell tales about life of Dimas Suryo in multiple tones. Although the focus of *Pulang* in a whole narration is to redefine what "home" means to Dimas, but eventually it frames his destiny to become a political exile in Paris. To trace back why he was the one that was so miserably being the victims, we could blatantly blame his friend, Hananto, a real communist one, affiliated in leftist newspaper and had big adoration over socialist realism and despise towards James Joyce. Hananto pointed Dimas to replace him in IOJ (International Organization of Journalists) conference in Havana. Dimas had to accompany Nugroho (another communist friend) to attend the conference. At first, Dimas was reluctant (Pulang44-45), but heard that the reason why Hananto couldn't attend was Surti's wish to divorce (Pulang 46), he finally let himself to replace Hananto.

Hananto's presence in whole narration is not clear. One thing to conclude, we can sense that he embodied a so-called typical blind-fanatic character towards leftist ideology, especially socialist realism in the literature discourse of

communism. He had this hatred towards James Joyce or any other literatures that doesn't portray the spirit of revolution:

"Self-indulgent! Down to earth not at all! Class difference and poverty are off the table!" said Mas Hananto one day as he pointed out chapters from A Portrait of The Artist as a Young Man. (Pulang 30)

While Hananto mysteriously didn't classify and had time to explain the term of his 'self-indulgent', Dimas, as the center of the story had this more space to elaborate the dull taste of Hananto in socialism realism.

Mas Hananto's opinion has been told over and over, and it almost makes my ears yell how cliché his was. Oh, socialist realism is one sacred term. One who wants to lick PKI high-rank officials, could simply take quotes from Maxim Gorky's The Mother, be acting like read all of it, and you can just bump to clicked-circle of the leader.

For me, The Mother – translated by Pramoedya Ananta Toer to Ibunda – is really tedious. That's kind of work that puts too much on substance, and could care less about the expression and the execution of writing style (Pulang 30).

Even in the context of literary works, Hananto as real victims (later he was caught three years after 1965 coup) of communist sweeping wasn't elaborated enough to explain his own experience as 'real' victim of New Order hateful approach towards any leftists. This becomes important especially when we correlate Dimas' experience as false victim, to Hananto. Dimas continued his life and tried hardly to escape his memory about Indonesia, particularly his love to Surti (Hananto's wife), while Hananto is suspected dead.

Character encrypted within Hananto is exceptionally interesting. While Dimas is portrayed as romantic and nostalgic being, appreciating his love and doing his life thoughtfully, Hananto was unfaithful (Pulang 39) and quite arrogant – seeing his approach towards girls and how he handled Dimas' distaste against socialist realism.

Through Hananto, we could sense a statement (in discursive term) of communism is recreated by the power within. Dimas, as self-proclaimed "Swiss Neutral Zone" in political matter, as the master of narration, as one who holds the power, distributes his knowledge about communism and character of communists. While the space for counter opinion from Hananto or any other communist perspective doesn't present in *Pulang*.

All of these tones of Dimas and space restriction of discourse is well-adjusted in Foucauldian theory. In *The Order of Discourse*, Foucault (1981) explained that discourse production is eventually "controlled, selected, organized and redistributed by a certain number of procedures". The result of this

restriction (or exclusion, as Foucault said) is a mastery over another discourse. In Foucauldian theory of discourse, power cannot be assumed in one negative aspect, until particular condition when one discourse is dominating (centralized) (Lubis 22).

Thus, we could see Dimas' mastery of discourse as there is no space given to present counter opinion from Hananto or any other communists in this novel. Furthermore, Dimas's point of view is strengthened by Alam, Hananto's own son from Surti, of whom Dimas kept contact during his exile in French. Alam stood on same position with Dimas': left ideology is unappealing.

"Communism is just one good word to be mutual enemy. Unless secretly, Indonesian students haven't read Karl Marx's works or his interpretations since they are banned by government. That paranoia eventually makes youngster grow curious seeking them," said Alam handing out pack of cigarettes. I know he really wants to smoke, but he holds himself. "And only if they knew, that theory has failed everywhere. No one will be interested, I'm not. Neither is Bimo. And not because what happened to our family, but because we read them as students, using ratio," (Pulang 367).

What can be said in this statement? Not only Alam assumed that communism has completely failed, it also made his family suffered (*not because what happened to our family...*). This discourse of anti-communism has been in repetition in different kind of perspective – started from Dimas to Alam. And the exclusion of the voice within the communism itself are absent throughout the narration.

One thing that is so peculiar is the presence of Pramoedya Ananta Toer (later will be shortened with Pram). Internationally-acclaimed author of Indonesia due to his Buru Quartet and himself as political detainee, he was presented in this novel twice: 1) as translator of Gorky's *Mat' (The Mother)* and 2) Lintang's (Dimas' daughter) interviewee to her final project from university about communist sweeping. It is told that Lintang had interviewed Pram (*Pulang*, 2014: 394). This should be focal point: Pram was a really authentic relic to dig communist sweeping because he is a real victim. His open support to PKI, Soekarno socialist realism, or even his position in LEKRA (People's Culture Assembly, assumed as PKI cultural wing) made him straight going to Buru Island, where all suspected communist or affiliated to PKI were gathered to become labor.

However, since obviously seen as the romantic adventure of Dimas' miserable life of political exile, Pram as one fine example to comprehend 1965 coup and how disastrous it was to all victims is not elaborated within the story.

Instead, Lintang only showed readers with the transcription of Surti's experience as prisoner. From Surti's tale, there is, again, identical framing as Dimas: the negative tone towards Hananto. It is not said directly, but through bridging the factual realm in novel about Hananto's infidelity and Surti's devotion with her husband.

"I decided to marry Hananto Prawiro at Jakarta in 1953 because of love and faith. (Pulang, 378)

Hitherto, from all statements given above, there is a knowledge within the discourse of communism in *Pulang*, of which is not different from pre-reformation era in New Order. Communism is still assumed as negativity, the source of misery and affecting the life of people involving within it, although do not believe in communism at all. It is really important to notice that even the historical timeline of Indonesia is moving, the power of New Order in discourse of communism is still relying upon cultural segmentation. Not much different when the era of anti-communism propaganda during New Order, through novels or any other cultural products; film (*Pengkhianatan G30SPKI – The Betrayal of G30SPKI*), novels (literary version of *The Betrayal of G30SPKI* written Arswendo Atmilito) and short stories (from literature journals *Horizon*) (Herlambang 168).

Amba: Another Perplexity of "Victims"

Similarly with *Pulang*, *Amba* mainly focused on Bhisma, through the eyes of Amba. Dr. Bhisma Rasjad, a character in this story, is son of a father that owns a publishing company in Jakarta. Their family lived in Menteng. He was sent to Leiden, Netherlands to pursue his study. He's interested to socialism after met and talked with Gerard Manuputty—son of ex-KNIL from Ambon in Netherlands. Gerard introduced Bhisma a Marxist's dream that one day there will be no oppression on earth, as he felt. Gerard and his people, the ambones had enslaved themselves too long to Dutch since the VOC ruled their land. After the RMS was crushed by the government, his family and all Ambones who had loyalty to Dutch left their homeland for Netherlands. They came to Netherlands to be rejected, humiliated and placed in the former German concentration camp. Then communism came, like a light spot in the dark mists of humanity for some of them.

Here, although *Amba* tried a good attempt to explain how communism derived and favored in Bhisma life, it would eventually get rejected once again by Bhisma himself. His perspective is stated clearly.

"What a pity. So pity of that fella. He doesn't know, maybe doesn't want to know, in German, in whole eastern Europe, Stalin is dead, buried along with his words."
(Amba 289)

Contextually, Bhisma talked about his acquaintance painter in Buru (a fellow political dissidents) when they talked about art within leftist perspective. The question remains, would Stalin is suitable in talking about aesthetic point of view in leftist society? Stalin was merely a symbol of dictatorship that controlled the circulation of cultural product, he wasn't embodiment of art though he was the one who gave commentary for any types of artwork during his Soviet presidency.

On the contrary, Bhisma cynical approach towards leftist people is suddenly blur when he despised the hedonistic realm of Western Germany. Thus, Bhisma recited a paragraph written by Rosa Luxemburg, a Jewish woman who was shot like a dog by a group of radical right and his body dumped just because she chose socialism as her path. In the paragraphs that Rosa Luxemburg wrote, *"I feel close to the miserable victims in Putamayo plantations and Negroes Africa whose body was used as a toy ball by Europeans... I did not have any special place for my people, the Jews. I felt my place in all the earth, where there are clouds, birds, and human tears"* (Amba 267).

He noticed it prior his return to Indonesia. Socialism and any Marxist values are a good system. It is a system that propagated improvements of human life, but what he saw in East Germany, people was living in a fish bowl where none of their movements were monitored by the Stasi (*secret police*). They are nothing more than wooden dolls that have to continue to play the role for which the state, in the name of revolution, on behalf of the spirit of the proletariat. From there, Bhishma finally learn to make boundaries, as he said *"I then know that there is a limit that makes the idea and the future can't cross the wall, there is a limit that makes humans know the world but can't change it. There is my limit itself"* (page 273). Afterward she was not sure whether he was really a Marxist or not, but certainly he was a doctor. Bhisma felt he had found his path in being a 'mere' doctor without clear ideology. He only assumes that he has to give more to society. Here, Bhisma and Dimas from *Pulang* share mutual character – they have no clear stand point of political view, yet they were suffering from leftist character that falsely given to them.

Going through the narration and life of Bhisma, eventually, again, like Dimas, he is hunted because he has fought for the idea that the ruling government would not accept. He and other leftist (although Bhisma is actually not) Indonesians are arrested. Without trial, they are gathered into a cattle freighter, headed to an alien and isolated land called Buru Island. For control all discourse and society's opinion, the government labeled them as communist who are very dangerous for society.

"Beware, the government said, regretted all of their attitudes. Do not be light-minded! Do not be fooled! These

people are the outcasts, the communists. We throw them. They are dangerous!”(Amba 30).

In another part of novel, the left people, Indonesian communist are considered as blood thirsty, cold-blood murders. Sudarminto, Amba’s father is gossiping for his absence in Friday prayer at great mosque in his city. Sudarminto knew this; one of his colleagues told him that he will be murdered by the communist.

“Be careful, there will be a time for Sudarminto will lose and perish if he is not close to Allah. There will be a time for PKI’s partisans come to your house in the middle of night, slighting your throat, your wife, and your daughters. And you will regret to be far from Plumbon santri” (Amba 105).

This atheistic label is within the New Order discourse of communism. In *Amba*, this opinion is not countered, it is merely narrated, and there is no attempt within *Amba* to fix this obsolete perspective.

Bhisma is portrayed as cynical young man towards any ideology, and particularly to left ideology. He is sensed having no sympathy towards any political detainee like him in Buru. Yet, he also still thought about Amba as his true lover – *vice versa* with Amba, seeing from his letters to Amba when being exiled.

This relationship grows despicably in the frame of Srikandi, Amba’s daughter. Srikandi doesn’t respect her mother due to Amba’s eternal flame in Bhisma. Srikandi also assumes, extremely, that Bhisma and Amba are alienated from her, she couldn’t comprehend her mother’s feeling to Bhisma, yet Amba decided to marry Aldaar. When Aldaar died, Srikandy heavily blames her mother because she believes that her stepfather has suffered from Amba’s special part of Bhisma. This grows another complex problem: Amba couldn’t get together with Bhisma due to his (pseudo) political view, and it affected heavily to Amba’s relationship with Aldaar and Srikandi. This problematic assumption will derive the conclusion that because of Bhisma political view, many people couldn’t have so-called established life, both for Amba or Srikandi as his biological daughter

Hence, the image of Bhisma has always been deconstructed only because the political identity of which he actually did not embrace at all. In the end, it is not Bhisma after all that assumed as the reason of unhappiness revolving in whole story of *Amba*, but the ideology of communism labeled to him that makes it so. Alas, *Amba* and *Pulang*, turn out having one victim with one thing to blame, there are those people who are not communist but suffering through the identity and it makes communism take the blame – although both in these two novels, we never

get really clear comprehension of what communism really is, just like the discourse of communism, belongs to the power of New Order.

Conclusion

Although *Pulang* and *Amba* have this attempt to reopen and reexamine the discourse of communism in their narrations, the framing is still relying in non-communist victims of 1965 coup. Consequently, we do not have a radical changing and development of discourse. Both *Pulang* and *Amba* are still embodying the power of New Order in carrying the communism discourse within their story as a whole. These are reflected in framing and space given to real (and politically direct) victims of communist sweeping such as Hananto, Bhisma's fellow political detainees and even Pramodya Ananta Toer who came out in *voyeur*.

Pulang won Khatulistiwa Literary Award, Indonesian most prestigious prize for literature. *Amba* was only nominated but holds notable reputation because many cultural activist and humanist praise it. This only strengthens the discourse because *Pulang* and *Amba*, with tangible value within the award, has been positioned as best representation of literature – alongside with the narration within the novel. Literature as cultural product embodies notable aspect of discourse restriction in Foucauldian framework. The exclusion of discourse is not really necessary conducted coercively, but instead, normalized (Foucault, 1981). Literature as symbol of culture, and the value brought within the work also brings the discourse one symbol possess, without necessarily commanding society, but instead, value within the symbolic power of literature submerges into reader's perception. Thus, the power of Indonesia New Order, incarnated in discourse of communism, still lays upon society perspective; it is still that bad and atheistic guy who tears this nation apart.

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YOUTH, TOURISM, AND DEVELOPMENTS TOWARDS ASEAN COMMUNITY 2015

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YOUTH, TOURISM, AND DEVELOPMENTS TOWARDS ASEAN COMMUNITY 2015

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Abstract

ASEAN Community 2015 is an opportunity for youth to be involved in regional integration. Since ASEAN Community was initiated in 1997, ASEAN nowadays still lack people to people engagement. Regional interaction is mostly dominated by high level diplomacy instead of citizen diplomacy. As ASEAN Community 2015 is approaching, youth should be immersed in regional engagement. Youth ought to maximize their potential as agent of change through tourism. For youth, tourism is a means for self expression, communication, and also cross-cultural learning. Research conducted by World Tourism Organization shows that tourism in South East Asia is currently undergoing rapid growth. South East Asia was noted to have the highest inbound tourism in 2013 among other regions in the world.⁹⁴ In 2013, foreign tourist arrival was noted to reach 13% growth.⁹⁵ Tourism ought to maximize developments of ASEAN Community 2015. This paper will discuss the role of youth in regional integration process through tourism. Elaboration will be based on two arguments; the optimization of youth capacity as agent of change through youth tourism and also the role of youth in promoting regional identity and realizing ASEAN Community 2015. I believe through tourism, youth can bring significant contribution towards ASEAN Community 2015. Youth are able to use tourism as a means to prevent conflict outbreak, stimulate regional economic growth, and also promote regional identity.

Keywords: *ASEAN Community 2015, development, youth involvement, regional identity, youth tourism*

⁹⁴"International Tourism Demand Exceeds Expectations In the First Half of 2013." *World Tourism Organization UNWTO*. UNWTO Communications & Publications Programme, 26 Aug. 2013. Web. 1 May 2014. <<http://media.unwto.org/press-release/2013-08-25/international-tourism-demand-exceeds-expectations-first-half-2013>>.

⁹⁵"International Tourism Demand Exceeds Expectations In the First Half of 2013." *World Tourism Organization UNWTO*. UNWTO Communications & Publications Programme, 26 Aug. 2013. Web. 1 May 2014. <<http://media.unwto.org/press-release/2013-08-25/international-tourism-demand-exceeds-expectations-first-half-2013>>.

ASEAN Community 2015 is an opportunity for youth to be actively involved in regional integration. The blueprint of ASEAN Community was initially discussed in 1997 and was set up in ASEAN's 9th High Summit in Bali. However, people-to-people interaction among ASEAN citizen until now on is still very lack. Regional interaction is dominated by high level diplomacy instead of citizen diplomacy. Considering that the moment of ASEAN Community 2015 is gradually approaching, youth ought to initiate a prominent role regarding regional integration. One of the ways to get involved is through youth tourism. For youth, tourism is a means of interaction, expression, communication, as well as cross-cultural learning. Tourism enables casual and exciting cultural exchange. ASEAN youth ought to maximize their role as agent of change through youth tourism. No-Visa regulation among ASEAN member countries enables high intra-regional mobility. According to *World Tourism Organization*, tourism industry in ASEAN is showing rapid growth. Since 2013, inbound tourism has increased 12%.⁹⁶ Inbound tourism in Southeast Asia shows the highest statistics compared to other regions in the world.⁹⁷ As ASEAN Citizen, we ought to utilize this phenomenon effectively to develop ASEAN Community 2015. This paper will discuss the role of youth in developing ASEAN Community through youth tourism. Discussion will be focused on two arguments which are optimizing youth capacity as agent of change through youth tourism and the role of youth in promoting regional identity in ASEAN Community 2015.

Youth Tourism Phenomenon in Southeast Asia

Tourism is a very popular topic among youth. The word tourism refers to a journey occurring in a particular length of time with a particular destination to fulfill various interests. The purpose of a tourist is to enjoy the journey itself, not as a means to obtain income.⁹⁸ Specifically, the idea of exploring new places is considered interesting by youth more than any other age groups. Availability of time as well as high mobility skill enables youth to move from one place to another easily. Generally, the term youth tourism refers to those aged 15-30 years old.⁹⁹

⁹⁶"International Tourism Demand Exceeds Expectations In the First Half of 2013." *World Tourism Organization UNWTO*. UNWTO Communications & Publications Programme, 26 Aug. 2013. Web. 1 May 2014. <<http://media.unwto.org/press-release/2013-08-25/international-tourism-demand-exceeds-expectations-first-half-2013>>.

⁹⁷"International Tourism Demand Exceeds Expectations In the First Half of 2013." *World Tourism Organization UNWTO*. UNWTO Communications & Publications Programme, 26 Aug. 2013. Web. 1 May 2014. <<http://media.unwto.org/press-release/2013-08-25/international-tourism-demand-exceeds-expectations-first-half-2013>>.

⁹⁸Elliott, James. *Tourism Politics and Public Sector Management*. London: Routledge, 1997. Print.

⁹⁹Richards, Greg. "ISTC/UNWTO Survey on Student and Youth Tourism among National Tourism Administrations/Organizations." 2005. Web. 1 May 2014. <<http://www.ttr.tirol.at/sites/default/files/upload/UNWTO Student and Youth Travel.pdf>>.

Youth consider tourism as means of self learning and self actualization. Some even consider it as an essential part of daily life.¹⁰⁰ Tourism brought positive cultural as well as social consequences for youth. It enables youth to share various norms and ideas, making them become a more open and tolerant individual. As youth travel, they underwent the exposure of different cultures and traditions, meet people from different places around the world, practice different languages. They learn not to highlight differences, but to look for similarities instead. That way, youth tourism nurtures mutual understanding. Student exchange, language training, school visitation internship, vocational training, as well as backpacking are some of the programs in youth tourism. Youth tourism phenomena occur due to various motives: psychological, cultural, social, and also pride. Not only does youth tourism offer youth to encounter new things, they also give youth the opportunity to contribute in her/his destination.

The study of international relations refers to events occurring in a particular time and place. It is interesting to note that tourism offers youth to be involved in citizen diplomacy. While youth travel through places, they encounter direct physical engagement with local people. This way, they underwent the exposure of a foreign culture. Through direct physical engagement, youth become aware how occurring events all around the world actually bring impact to the daily life of some people. Those people aren't just nameless faces portrayed in international headlines; those people are the people that they know; their hosts, their travel mates, their colleagues. Doesn't matter that those people come from different places in the world, they still share a lot of things in common. Direct physical engagement nurtures humanity. As youth are the future leaders, it is important for them to encounter as many international exposures as they can get. That way, they learn to overcome bias thoughts, stereotyping, and also conflicts.

Tourism industry in Southeast Asia is currently evolving rapidly. This phenomenon of course attracts youth tourists to visit the region. Since 1990, tourism has become a prominent industry in the region.¹⁰¹ Tourism contributes 59 billion USD for the region's GDP and also creates 8,2 million of employment in Southeast Asia.¹⁰² The region's heterogeneity as well as its cultural diversity attract people from all places in the world to come and visit. Relatively cheap goodie prices make it even more interesting for youth tourism. In this case,

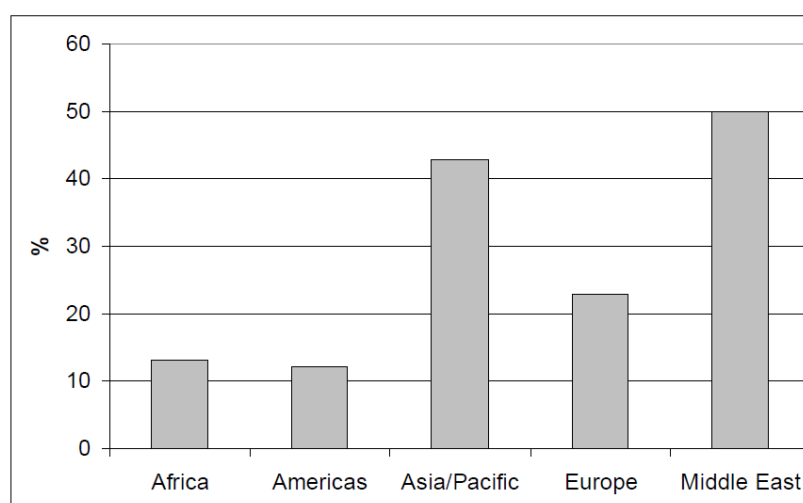
¹⁰⁰ Fitzgerald, Deborah, Peter Jordan, and Laura Egidio. "The Power of Youth Travel, AM Reports Volume 2." UNWTO AND WYSE TRAVEL CONFEDERATION, 2011. Web. 1 May 2014.
<http://dtxtq4w60xqpw.cloudfront.net/sites/all/files/pdf/the_power_of_youth_travel.pdf>.

¹⁰¹ "Introduction: Tourism in South-East Asia Revisited." *Tourism in Southeast Asia: Challenges and New Directions*. Ed. Michael Hitchcock, Victor King, and Michael Parnwell. Honolulu: U of Hawaii, 2009. Print.

¹⁰² *Travel And Tourism Economic Impacts 2010 - South-East Asia*. London: World Travel and Tourism Council, 2014. Print.

ASEAN residents are benefited by the needless of visa. With the exception of Myanmar, ASEAN countries need no visa to visit each other. This accessibility becomes motivation for youth with ASEAN citizenship to travel. Compared to regions such as Africa, America, and even Europe, Asia-Pacific is the region in the world which most rapidly develops tourism products (accommodation, tour package, cultural route, information service, and also discounts – see table).¹⁰³ Southeast Asia offers various attractions to be enjoyed; from skyscrapers at Marina Bay (Singapore) to UNESCO world's heritage site in Vigan (Philippines); from powdery pink beach in Lombok (Indonesia) to tropical rain forest in Sarawak (Malaysia); from night market in Bangkok to genocide museum in Phnom Pehn (Cambodia). Southeast Asia's diversity offers endless exploration and discovery, especially for youth.

Table 1: Statistics of Tourism Product Development According to Regions



Source: World Tourism Organization (UNWTO) survey on Youth and Student Tourism among National Tourism Administrations/Organizations

Not only does tourism offer the opportunity for capability developments, tourism also offer the opportunity for youth to contribute for environment. UNWTO's research shows that youth tend to spend a longer stay in their destination place, compared to tourists in general.¹⁰⁴ Youth visitation doesn't only occur in days or weeks; they can even stay in a particular place for months or even a year. As an example, someone starts her/his journey from Bangkok on

¹⁰³Richards, Greg. "ISTC/UNWTO Survey on Student and Youth Tourism among National Tourism Administrations/Organizations." 2005. Web. 1 May 2014.
<<http://www.ttr.tirol.at/sites/default/files/upload/UNWTO Student and Youth Travel.pdf>>.

¹⁰⁴Richards, Greg. "ISTC/UNWTO Survey on Student and Youth Tourism among National Tourism Administrations/Organizations." 2005. Web. 1 May 2014.
<<http://www.ttr.tirol.at/sites/default/files/upload/UNWTO Student and Youth Travel.pdf>>.

February. Next month he will reach Cambodia by using land transportation. Availability of time balances the limited fund which youth normally have. This enables them to stay in a destination longer than normal tourist. Youth tourism stimulates micro economy growth. It is noted that youth can spend 2600 USD in one trip, almost triple than a normal tourist which normally only spend 950 USD.¹⁰⁵ Youth tourism normally uses facilities of accommodation as well as eateries provided by local citizens. This nurtures the growth of local economics as well as employment rate. It is normal for young tourists to revisit a place that they've visited before. This fosters the growth of transnational networking.

Youth and Cultural Exchange

Youth tourism is a unique means of learning. For youth, tourism is a media of social interaction. Tourism enables transnational citizen diplomacy. As we refer to ASEAN Community, exchange of norms and ideas occur through daily interaction. Cross cultural understanding is obtained through direct physical engagement. This motivates youth to be a more open and tolerant individual. Cross cultural communication leads to sensitiveness and awareness of foreign cultures. Someone who has ever been to Laos, Cambodia, Thailand, and Vietnam will sure have a different attitude than her/his peer who spent his life staying in Malaysia. Unveiling the meaning behind occurring events, human tend to not be stuck with biased perspective. Learning foreign language is very essential to understand a foreign culture. Not only does it become easier to communicate with local people and obtain information, but also it motivates us to be familiar with their way of life. As one stays in an area for quite some times, learning the local language becomes inevitable. It obviously makes one's daily life much easier as she/he has created a connection with her/his neighborhood. In the study of international relations, this particular knowledge is a means of conflict prevention. Especially since we are referring to the case of Southeast Asia, which is still very rich with traditional norms and values. It is very common to see conflicts occur in border Area, like the case of Prah Vihear Temple, Batu Puteh Island, Sipadan-Ligitan, etc. Southeast Asia is a very rich, diversely heterogenic, and populated region. Therefore, cross cultural intelligence is very important, especially among youth.

Youth is known as the agent of change. As youth, it is easy for us to connect with various age groups and social circle. Youth networking plays a crucial role in terms of social movement. Youth are expected to play a more advanced role in

¹⁰⁵Fitzgerald, Deborah, Peter Jordan, and Laura Egidio. "The Power of Youth Travel, AM Reports Volume 2." UNWTO AND WYSE TRAVEL CONFEDERATION, 2011. Web. 1 May 2014.
<http://dtxtq4w6oxqpw.cloudfront.net/sites/all/files/pdf/the_power_of_youth_travel.pdf>.

further ASEAN-related issues. Especially since ASEAN Community is designed to be people oriented organization. ASEAN Community is a boundary of regional integration which involves ASEAN citizen. ASEAN Community becomes a means for ASEAN citizen to adjust their attitude with the developments in the world.¹⁰⁶ This people-oriented community is a means to intensify interaction among ASEAN citizen. The question is, how can youth contribute towards the successful implementation of ASEAN Community 2015? In my opinion, youth can play an advanced role in promoting regional identity. The core idea of ASEAN Community is to create a society with one vision, one identity, and one community. Since the blueprint was officially signed in Bali Concord, it is seen that ASEAN aims to nurture *'we feeling'* among Southeast Asia people. Unfortunately, the idea of one vision, one identity, and one community is still very abstract to be understood by the people in Southeast Asia. Let alone the implementation is gradually coming up in 2015, Southeast Asian—especially grass-root community, is still unfamiliar with the idea ASEAN Community 2015. In this case, youth can spread the idea about people integration in Southeast Asia; about the importance of *'we feeling'* as a regional community. The position of youth in social hierarchy enables them to connect with different group from various social status, occupation, gender, and also age. Youth are highly aware of ongoing changes. Youth contribution in the developments toward ASEAN Community 2015 is highly crucial to obtain significance results.

From ASEAN's initial forming until now on, ASEAN programs tend to be dominated by high level diplomacy such as ASEAN High Summit, ASEAN Ministerial Meeting, etc. Decision makers have this normative belief that negotiations in various issues are to be settled through government to government approach.¹⁰⁷ They tend to exclude private sectors as well as society. The leaders of ASEAN countries tend to be stuck thinking in a small boundary of national interests.¹⁰⁸ Looking back to the founding fathers idea when ASEAN was set up in 1967, ASEAN aims to maintain regional peace and stability. Maintaining and managing conduciveness of a region with around 600 million populations are obscurely complicated things to do. ASEAN countries are common to engage in bilateral approach in handling their issues. Furthermore, the effort of regional stabilization requires collaboration from all ASEAN citizens. Issues related with trust, identity, social cohesion, and commitment in terms of ASEAN cooperation

¹⁰⁶Kementerian Luar Negeri RI, Direktorat Jenderal Kerja Sama ASEAN, ed. *Ayo Kita Kenali ASEAN*. Jakarta: Direktorat Jenderal Kerja Sama ASEAN, Kementerian Luar Negeri RI, 2011. 22. Print.

¹⁰⁷Luhulima, C. P. F. "Tantangan Bagi Pendekatan Multilateralisme ASEAN: Sebuah Untaian Kata Pengantar." *Dinamika Asia Tenggara Menuju 2015*. Cet. 1. ed. Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar, 2011. Xxv. Print.

¹⁰⁸Luhulima, C. P. F. "Tantangan Bagi Pendekatan Multilateralisme ASEAN: Sebuah Untaian Kata Pengantar." *Dinamika Asia Tenggara Menuju 2015*. Cet. 1. ed. Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar, 2011. Xxv. Print.

is a crucial problem among member countries. Government to government approach is inadequate to promote regional identity. Government to people interaction is required to spread the idea of ASEAN Community 2015. Furthermore, people to people engagement is highly required to reach expected results.

The promotion of *one vision, one community, and one identity* can be done through cultural exchange. Here is where youth play a crucial role. Youth promote the norms and values of their national culture. Tourism is used as a means of exchanging ideas and values. Informal and casual information enable cultural exchange process occurs smoothly and casually. Knowledge and understanding are obtained through daily interaction. Touristic trip is a casual interaction which does not withdraw suspicion. On a touristic journey, people are usually more open and curious with things they encounter. A touristic trip makes it easier for youth to adopt regional identity. Tourism brought positive cultural as well as social consequences.

Towards ASEAN Community 2015

ASEAN has a vision to implement regional cohesion, integration, and identity. ASEAN Community targeted in 2015 is a means to accelerate ASEAN Integration. Bali Concord signed on 7 October 2003 is ASEAN's partnership framework. There are three pillars of ASEAN Community 2015: political-security, economic, and also socio-cultural. Each of these pillars has different fields of cooperation program among ASEAN member countries. ASEAN's heterogeneity makes integration process occur slowly and gradually. ASEAN member countries highly respect national sovereignty and non intervention principle. Instead of handing over partial national sovereignty to build regional stability, ASEAN member countries believe that peace and stability will occur through highlighting national security. The moment of ASEAN Community 2015 is gradually getting closer. Surely ASEAN must collaborate on positive and comprehensive partnership to build regional integration. I believe that the role of youth, especially through tourism, enables acceleration of a fully implemented ASEAN Community 2015 which complies with political-security, economics, and also social-cultural pillar. Youth can develop regional tourism to prevent conflict outbreak, stimulate regional economic growth, and also promote regional identity among ASEAN residents.

First, developing regional tourism to prevent conflict outbreak. This is related with political-security pillar. Border areas among Southeast Asian countries have high potential of conflicts. ASEAN tend to not get involved with occurring disputes between its members, ASEAN has no as regional dispute mechanism. Involved countries shall work on this issue in a bilateral approach.

The outbreak of conflict will surely harm regional harmony, stability, and cooperation. Some of the border issues among Southeast Asian countries are the case of Batu Puteh Island among Singapore and Malaysia; the case of Preah Vihear temple among Thailand and Cambodia; the case of Sipadan Island and Ligitan Island between Indonesia and Malaysia. Similar cases also occur in other ASEAN countries. One of the challenges faced by ASEAN is the absence of collective ability to cope with internal security issues.¹⁰⁹ ASEAN ought to invent a solution to prevent the outbreak of more security issues. Tourism could be an alternative to create a peaceful and conducive atmosphere of a political-security community. Through proper tourism management, border disputes are less likely to happen. Inbound tourism initiates infrastructure building and also transportation access to reach the tourist destination. Accessibility is very important to connect country's border area with other places. Youth are always interested to explore new tourist destination, this also includes border area. The easier it is to reach the destination area, the more tourists will come. Access to reach border area should be supported with adequate infrastructures and facilities. Incoming foreign tourists shall motivate the country's government to equip border territory with proper security. Not only just government obtains income from inbound tourism, they are also aware to keep good relations with bordering countries which travelers are originated from. Tourism promotes conduciveness in border area.

Based on political-security pillar, ASEAN aims to bring political and security cooperation to a more advanced level. Related with this, ASEAN members are supposed to realize interdependence among them. Peace and stability in ASEAN are preserved through national security. Cooperation among ASEAN countries ought to prevent conflict escalation. Conflict prevention is done by nurturing mutual understanding among ASEAN citizens. Youth tourism enables cross cultural cooperation, leading to prevention of conflict outbreak, especially in non-traditional security issues. Even if conflict outbreak is inevitable, we can narrow the level as tiny as possible, while at the same time elaborating on conflict resolution. As for those in post-conflict area, inbound tourists help peace-building effort, creating conduciveness for peace preservation. Not only does tourism promote the mechanism to mobilize material resource, but also it improves the human resource capacity for reconciliation and rehabilitation.

Second, tourism stimulates regional economic growth. This is related with economic pillar. Tourism is considered as the biggest industry of several countries in the world, including Southeast Asian countries. Since 1990, tourism industry in Southeast Asia has been developing rapidly. This rapid growth of tourism

¹⁰⁹Cipto, Bambang. *Hubungan Internasional Di Asia Tenggara: Teropong Terhadap Dinamika, Realitas, Dan Masa Depan*. Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar, 2010. 263. Print.

sector is relatively unharmed by the strike of financial crisis in 1997¹¹⁰—which severely harm the economic growth of several Asian countries. It is also noted that during the recess of international tourism industry, the threat of disease and natural disaster doesn't bring too severe impact on Southeast Asia's tourism.¹¹¹ This proves that regional tourism is a stable and prospective industry which enables high income. Tourism industry promotes equal income distribution and development level among ASEAN member states. Development gap among ASEAN member countries is quite massive. The flow of tourist from those more developed ASEAN member countries to those less developed ones trims development gap among fellow ASEAN member. Inbound tourism promotes infrastructure building and social development to reach those less-developed areas. Free visa regulation among ASEAN member countries motivates more ASEAN residents to travel. ASEAN is currently working on a single visa for visitors from non ASEAN countries to promote ASEAN as a single destination. Tourism contributes 59 billion USD for the region's GDP and also creates 8,2 million of employment in Southeast Asia.¹¹² It is noted that the statistic of annual youth tourism reached 190 journeys in 2011.¹¹³ It is also noted that youth can spend 2600 USD in one trip, almost triple than a normal tourist which normally spend only 950 USD.¹¹⁴ This occurs as youth normally stay longer in the destination place. Youth tourism promotes the growth of micro economy. Preserving stable economic growth in the long run is very important for sustainable development. Economical resource is an important factor to develop human capital. This brings benefit for individual wealth as well as state's development.

Income from inbound tourism is also expected to lessen ASEAN dependence towards foreign investment. ASEAN countries are known to have strong economic partnership with non-member countries outside the region.

¹¹⁰Bui, Huong Thanh, and Lee Jolliffe. "Vietnamese Domestic Tourism: An Investigation of Travel Motivations." *ASEAS - Austrian Journal of South-East Asian Studies* 4.1 (2011): 10-29. *SEAS - Society For Southeast Asian Studies*. Web. 1 May 2014. <http://www.seas.at/aseas/3_2/ASEAS_4_1_A2.pdf>.

¹¹¹Bui, Huong Thanh, and Lee Jolliffe. "Vietnamese Domestic Tourism: An Investigation of Travel Motivations." *ASEAS - Austrian Journal of South-East Asian Studies* 4.1 (2011): 10-29. *SEAS - Society For Southeast Asian Studies*. Web. 1 May 2014. <http://www.seas.at/aseas/3_2/ASEAS_4_1_A2.pdf>.

¹¹²*Travel And Tourism Economic Impacts 2010 - South-East Asia*. London: World Travel and Tourism Council, 2014. Print.

¹¹³Fitzgerald, Deborah, Peter Jordan, and Laura Egido. "The Power of Youth Travel, AM Reports Volume 2." UNWTO AND WYSE TRAVEL CONFEDERATION, 2011. Web. 1 May 2014. <http://dtxtq4w6oxqpw.cloudfront.net/sites/all/files/pdf/the_power_of_youth_travel.pdf>.

¹¹⁴Fitzgerald, Deborah, Peter Jordan, and Laura Egido. "The Power of Youth Travel, AM Reports Volume 2." UNWTO AND WYSE TRAVEL CONFEDERATION, 2011. Web. 1 May 2014. <http://dtxtq4w6oxqpw.cloudfront.net/sites/all/files/pdf/the_power_of_youth_travel.pdf>.

Countries such as Japan, United States, EU, and also Australia are some of those who maintain strategic partnership with ASEAN members. ASEAN has learnt that relying on foreign investment is not a wise thing to do, as it has experienced severe economic downturn in 1997. It took ages for some country to re-fuel their economic engine. Rapid income of foreign direct investment hasn't yet stimulates ASEAN countries to develop a more advanced innovation technique. Also, developed countries such as Japan and EU preserve a very strict regulation related with import. Japan's agricultural, fishery and forestry market give more opportunity for domestic product by banning cheaper ASEAN products. Similar thing applies in EU's Common Agricultural Policy; strict standardization prevents ASEAN products to enter EU's market

Third, tourism promotes regional identity among ASEAN residents. This is related with social-cultural pillar. Considering the diversity of race, ethnic, language, religion, geographical length, population, and also political system among ASEAN members, the promotion of regional identity becomes a challenge. Heterogeneity and diversity are part of ASEAN identity. Here, tourist's mobility helps to promote 'we feeling' among ASEAN citizen. Instead of preventing integration, diversity ought to be embraced as regional identity. As a regional community, it is crucial to nurture positive and comprehensive partnership. Socio-cultural community is a boundary to strengthen ASEAN solidarity. ASEAN is considered to have the system of *open regionalism*. ASEAN has so many partnerships with prominent countries outside the region, such as America, China, Australia, and also India. It is ironic that some ASEAN members developed a very strategic cooperation with countries outside the region in a bilateral framework. ASEAN ought to intensify intra-regional partnership among fellow members. Youth ought to initiate people to people interaction to strength ASEAN citizen solidarity. Intensity of human networking is the means towards a harmony regional community. Regional identity becomes the brick to build ASEAN integration.

To form a solid and strong regionalism, it is very important to nurture society's awareness related with regional identity. We feeling becomes an essential requirement to foster a positive and sustainable regional cooperation. Nurturing cooperation among ASEAN member countries as well as promoting regional cohesion is a very crucial factor. The main idea of ASEAN socio-cultural society is a caring community bonded in partnership. An integrated society will found it easier to cope with upcoming challenges in this century.

Conclusions

ASEAN citizen ought to be prepared to welcome ASEAN Community 2015. The aim of ASEAN Community is to strengthen integration among ASEAN

citizen. This enables youth to be actively involved in citizen diplomacy. As agent of change, youth possess strategic position in the society's hierarchy. Youth are able to initiate people to people interaction by using tourism as a means. Tourism is a strategic means of diplomacy which doesn't attract suspicion. Tourism is a media for cross cultural interaction, communication, and also learning. Through tourism, youth can develop their capability as well as contribute to their environment. Youth involvement in tourism is expected to promote regional identity in order to reach a harmonized integration.

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SOCIAL CAPITAL AND THE CHALLENGES OF INTEGRATION: MAPPING INDONESIA'S READINESS AND VULNERABILITY IN ASEAN COMMUNITY 2015

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Abstract

Since the period of transition from Suharto's authoritarian regime in New Order era to democratic-reformation era, Indonesia has been dealing with bigger challenges to its social capital. Social capital itself refers to a set of shared-norms or values among members of society or community which enables trust-emergence and cooperation between them. Francis Fukuyama refers to late 18th century to mid-19th century United States of America and United Kingdom where social capital had weakened during the period of transition from industrial society to high-technological society due to escalation of crime rates, moral decay, and such social distrust.

Weakening social capital could be seen as a great disruption to national integration which would be more likely being ineffective, and vice versa. It could be interesting if ASEAN integration could be seen from this point of view where one could identify what are those challenges in a domestic level then reflect it to a bigger scope of regional level. It could also be a useful key to portray social challenges faced by developing countries to develop themselves better in order to pursue their objectives.

This paper is aimed to elaborate the challenges of reconstructing social capital in Indonesia and how it could affect integration process in 2015 ASEAN Community's vision. Hence, the research would be directed to answer following research question: How does social capital affect Indonesia's vulnerability and readiness in actualizing ASEAN Community 2015? The paper will be focused on elaborating and analyzing the disruptions of social capital in order to figure out the challenges of reconstructing Indonesia's social capital through socio-political point of view that will be explored further through systematic research.

Keywords: social capital, challenges, integration, readiness, vulnerability

It is undeniable that good governance has become a multi-faceted, widely used term in depicting ideal set of standards towards achieving successful political conduct in contemporary global era. Many countries have been trying to conform to certain common standards in order to achieve a goal on establishment of what-so-called global society. This is then encourages the emergence and evolution of regional cooperation and regional integration, such as what could be explained and analyzed from Indonesia's membership in Association of Southeast Asian Nations (hereafter ASEAN).

Indonesia has been renowned as one of the biggest populated countries in the world. With its population estimated over 250,000,000 people in 2014, Indonesia ranks world's fourth most populous country. Through this huge amount of human resources essentially it could become one of major players in global political-economy. However, it also becomes a particular challenge for political leaders and government to deal with such situation where dense population requires bigger concern and better management or policy-making capacities. Herein, socio-cultural context could be a very determining factor in shaping its capacity to become a global power.

As a part of world's potential biggest economics of the next decade, Indonesia has been trying to build up its capability in many sectors. Indonesia has been renowned as one of the new emerging economic giants in global political economy. Through its relatively significant economic growth, this country joins a status of global new emerging markets along with group of countries which is named as MINT—an acronym made for group of economic power projected countries consist of Mexico, Indonesia, Nigeria, and Turkey. These countries are predicted to be potential economic powers which has been introduced to the world by Goldman Sach's economist Jim O'Neill who had previously introduced some other newly industrialized countries known as BRICS (Brazil, Russia, India, China, and South Africa). Moreover, as a member of G20 major economies and many other global forums, Indonesia has been trying to exert its power responsibly, build up viable nexus, and take a role as world leaders; marking Indonesia's imminent potential to develop more in the future. In terms of regional power, Indonesia has been trying to take up a role as ASEAN's leader.

Gearing up for global political-economic power, Indonesia maintains its economy grows at significant rate and its role, domestically, regionally, and internationally managed. Yet, the notion of Indonesia's economic development is still bringing quite strong discourse due to its real potential and sustainability. Is Indonesia ready to cope with contemporary global era indicated by high level of competitiveness? And is it ready for 2015 ASEAN Community? However, there are several evidences that Indonesia's socio-political and socio-cultural systems are still quite lacking to support regional nor global competitiveness, but at the

same time, it shows simply remarkable progress in many fields. This paper seeks to analyze Indonesia's readiness in facing 2015 ASEAN Community in socio-cultural context through following question: How does social capital affect Indonesia's vulnerability and readiness in actualizing ASEAN Community 2015?

Social Capital: A Theoretical Framework

Social order might be the biggest challenge that democratic society has to face during past half-century. As society developed and shifted from traditional to modern one, social order have to deal with rapid change of information-technology and economic situation. Alvin Toffler labeled this transition as the third wave of human historyⁱ, while Daniel Bell categorized it as post-industrial society. Countries had gradually changed their social order as the aftermath of industrialization, as well as attempts of adaptation to current challenges of this era. During this transition towards modern society, social deviations are increasing, family-related norms are fading away and people becoming more individualistic, as well as distrust appears in the society. This condition as first explained by Francis Fukuyama in *The Great Disruption: Human Nature and the Reconstitution of Social Order* in around late 1999 to early 2000 appeared as great disruption to social capital.

Social capital is a relatively simplified terminology used to define set of informal-shared-norms or values of society or community which enables trust-emergence and cooperation between its members.ⁱⁱ Fukuyama refers to late 18th century to mid-19th century America and Europe in order to illustrate the essence and importance of social capital where it had weakened during the period of transition from traditional to modernized-industrialized-technological society due to escalation of social disruptions such as rising crime rates, moral decay, and widespread social distrust.

Since the period of transition from Suharto's authoritarian regime in New Order era to democratic-reformation era, Indonesia has been dealing with bigger challenges to its political, economic, and social systems. Similar to previous occurrences and tendencies in America and Europe, ASEAN countries generally and Indonesia particularly are likely experiencing period of transition toward more modern societies during current decade.

Weakening social capital could be seen as a great disruption to nation's resilience which could also be interpreted as governing process more likely being ineffective. Thus, it is important to identify what are those challenges in a domestic level then reflect it as a capital of competitiveness in measuring Indonesia's readiness for global era. It could also be a useful key to portray and

identify social challenges faced by certain country to develop itself better in order to pursue its objectives.

Fukuyama outlined three main indicators or categories to measure social capital which are crime, family, and trust. Crime category depicts the tendencies of individual and social behavior and its deviations. To some extent it could strongly indicate the level or quality of social capital. Notable linkage between these two is said to have complex relations by Fukuyama as much more complicated than *prima facie* hypothesis: *"If social capital is defined as institutionalized cooperative norms in controlling relations between members of society, crime represents violation of that mutually agreed norms."*ⁱⁱⁱ

Whereas family category substantially works as basic unit of a society. It represents the dynamics of demographic structures in a smaller scope and familial-related values in a society which also have a direct impact to social order and social capital based on its cohesion level. Major elements on this category lie on birth and death rates (natality and mortality), also marriage and divorce rates.^{iv} Meanwhile, the third category, trust elaborates about urgently required moral values that are associated with the efforts to establish civil society.^v The third category might be rather difficult to measure because it involves various ranges of variables which make social capital even more complicated to be measured.

However, those categories become three main indicators to measure social capital. Through this approach the paper will further analyze Indonesia's social capital and correlate it to its factual readiness in facing closer integration process through ASEAN Community 2015.

An Overview to Regional Integration Concept and ASEAN Integration Process

The discussion about regional integration could be traced back from classic concept of regionalism and multilateralism which emerged in around 1960s. Discourse on regional integration as stumbling block or stepping stone which appeared and became popular after that period might be pointed out as misleading and unnecessarily debatable matter. However, it is still relevant to measure integration process and understand basic concept of regionalism before trying to analyze Indonesia's integration process towards 2015 ASEAN Community. Hence, in order to understand about regional cooperation and integration process, it is also important to first understand the concept of region, regionalization, and regionalism.

The concept of region according Mansbach is *"a regional grouping based on geographical and cultural proximity, trade, mutually beneficial economic*

interdependence, communication, and participation in international organizations".^{vi} Other definitions from Bruce Russett identifies region as group of countries shares similarity/homogeneity of socio-cultural and political attitudes, same membership in supranational or intergovernmental organization, economic interdependence, and geographic proximity. While Michael Brecher identifies region as the geographically limited scope which has at least three members, recognized by its members and other parties as a particular region, and relatively has lower position than/or more influenced by changes in the international system rather than the opposite.^{vii} These points became characteristics of a region and serve as basic standard to formulate and develop regional cooperation.

Regional cooperation could refer to either regionalism or regionalization. Regionalism said to be the formal process of regionalization. Regionalism has been a part of international relations where division of actors is based upon a concept of region which is not always lie in a form of geographically-linked cooperation. It is basically a concept on how the relations between states should be conducted in order to maximalize mutual gains. It could also be argued that regionalism is a process towards achieving global order which could be proceeded by forming a new world order or reforming the actors. It continuously becoming salient issue in international relations, especially after the end of World War II.^{viii}

There is no single explanation regarding how to define regionalism. Experts of regionalism studies have yet to reach an agreement on how regionalism emerged and became a trend.^{ix} In the era of 1960s and 1970s, the world saw and started to analyze the first wave of regionalism which particularly focuses on the regional impacts of the Cold War and the emergence of regional institutions in Europe and so-called "Third World" countries. In 1990s, the emergence of post-Cold War's new regionalism has prompted several efforts to define and explain essential nature and characteristics of region and regional cooperation in political context.^x

Stubbs and Underhill stated that regionalism is a set of ideas which identify geographic and social space as regional project. It can also be defined as an awareness to build an identity which then affects the formation of particular region. Regionalism is often associated with program policies (objectives) and strategy (means and mechanisms to achieve these objectives) that would normally lead to the formation of institutions.^{xi} A new form of regionalism, namely "new regionalism" is a regionalism which developed in 1990s after the end of Cold War.^{xii} Fawcett explained that the emergence of new regionalism was affected by a need to respond to the end of Cold War, global economic change, and democratization. The end of Cold War became a starting point for new global

cooperation as US President Bill Clinton emphasized his commitment to open regionalism through exercising regional openness and cooperation with America and Asia-Pacific regions. While global economic changed by the emergence of cooperation among European countries which continuously growing up and becoming European Union (EU).^{xiii}

Meanwhile, regionalization refers to soft regionalism which focuses on autonomous processes that lead to higher interdependence in a particular geographic region rather than the other regions in the world. Regionalization process could not seemingly be prevented since more and more international actors being actively moving towards achieving their interests through coordinating with other actors. However, regionalization process does not necessarily results in a formation of new region.^{xiv}

The emergence of regionalism as global issue can not solely be explained in terms that it is a transnational or cross-border issue which involves interdependence and interconnectivity among various parties, but could also be explained from each theoretical frameworks or perspectives. According to realists, and later adopted by neo-realists, regionalism emerged as a response on changing nature of security and power. One example is a formation of ASEAN which was aimed to contend widespread influence of communism in Southeast Asia in the mid 1960s. Another example could be seen from the establishment European cooperation in early 1950s as an effort to consolidate regional peace and security after World War II. In a view of neo-realists, regionalism is seen as a way to achieve prosperity and international peace. Basically, this concept is directed to improve relations between countries through mutually binding rule of the game among its members, so that various kinds of cooperation ranging from economic, political, and social would be mutually beneficial for all parties. Liberals and neo-liberals argued differently and explained that regionalism appears to facilitate the liberal economic order, especially in Europe after World War II. In 1980s and 1990s, tremendous increase in interdependence requires institutionalization. Because at that time the world was experiencing GATT's stagnancy, trade liberalization has been executed through regional cooperation mechanism. Meanwhile, structuralists argued that regionalism is the result of MNCs' rising interest to control transnational capital, as well as state's urgency to control regional hegemon.^{xv}

Since this propensity of cooperation has been dominating global order and structure over past decades, it tends to influence the growing numbers and evolutions of regional cooperation and integration which are assumed as an efficient way to pursue common objective of becoming globally united. It also happens in the formation of ASEAN. The idea on establishment of ASEAN might be slightly different in the beginning of its formation, but recent development

likely shows that ASEAN countries will seek to cooperate towards that direction through commitment on the formulation of ASEAN Community 2015.

Regarding ASEAN Community 2015 itself, despite its near implementation, ASEAN member countries are seemingly left with wide gaps among their political system, policies, economic capability, social stability, culture, and other factors that may become stumbling blocks to the process of identities integration. We can refer to many conflicts occurred among ASEAN members like historical, cultural, and territorial disputes that remain unsolved. Besides, other problems such as central discussion on the principle of non-intervention or non-interference which has become ASEAN Way and fundamental guidance of behavior questioned the future of proposed integration continuously take place. Principle of non-intervention somehow shows an irrelevancy to the idea of uniting as a community. It actually makes policy formulation and dispute settlement process in regional level become rather complicated, and said to be irrelevant to current global trend of globalization and.

Furthermore, lack of readiness and awareness of common identity in national level also becoming major problem in some ASEAN countries. Journal of Current Southeast Asian Affairs 2011 stated that most of Indonesian respondents have not even heard about the ASEAN Community.^{xvi} In fact, ASEAN citizens are not yet having a mindset of being embedded as a community, whilst individual awareness and people's acknowledgement are essential prerequisites to actualize an integrated ASEAN Community in the future.

From this point of view, ASEAN Community as regional integration has got something that is quite lacking on its formulation and preparation phases. Nevertheless, it would be too early to judge whether it could make its successful way towards establishing closer relations like what had happened to EU as stable institutional model. However, ASEAN countries have determined to consolidate their political, economy, social, and cultural systems under regional identity of ASEAN. Further integration process may need to be observed further through each country's readiness in integrating itself which could be measured by certain specific indicators as described above.

Crime, Family, and Trust: An Analysis on Indonesia's Readiness and Vulnerabilities in 2015 ASEAN Community Integration Process

As Fukuyama's mentioned that crime, family, and trust could work as indicators in measuring the strength of social capital, these three factors would further be analyzed below to determine Indonesia's social capital with specific correlation to its readiness and vulnerabilities in joining 2015 ASEAN Community integration process.

Crime becomes the first indicator for social capital measurement. There are many categories of crime such as small and big crimes, white-collar and blue-collar crimes, and so on. Fukuyama mentioned four types of crime and the data portrayed here will be based on that categorization. *First*, property crime which is burglarly, theft, pickpocketing, shoplifting, arson, vandalism, and so on. *Second*, violent crime such as kidnapping, trafficking, rape, homicide, terrorism and organized crime. *Third*, white-collar crime like fraud, bribery, money-laundering and corruption. *Fourth*, social disorder which includes vagrants, beggars, drunkenness, and graffiti. However, it would be too complicated to elaborate these crimes one by one, hence corruption will be taken as a sample to depict how severe social capital has been disrupted. Corruption becomes useful measurement for social capital because it was done by not only people with economic difficulties, but also people with financial capabilities that represents moral-decadency-crime.^{xvii}

Below are compiled statistical data of year 2013 from Transparency International showing scores comparison on corruption perception index of each ASEAN countries. Indonesia ranks sixth out of ten positions among ASEAN members and 114 out of 177 countries worldwide, scoring 32 out of 100 and considered as a corrupted country. This score shows unvarying position since year 2012 even though the rating was moving up from 118 to 114.^{xviii}

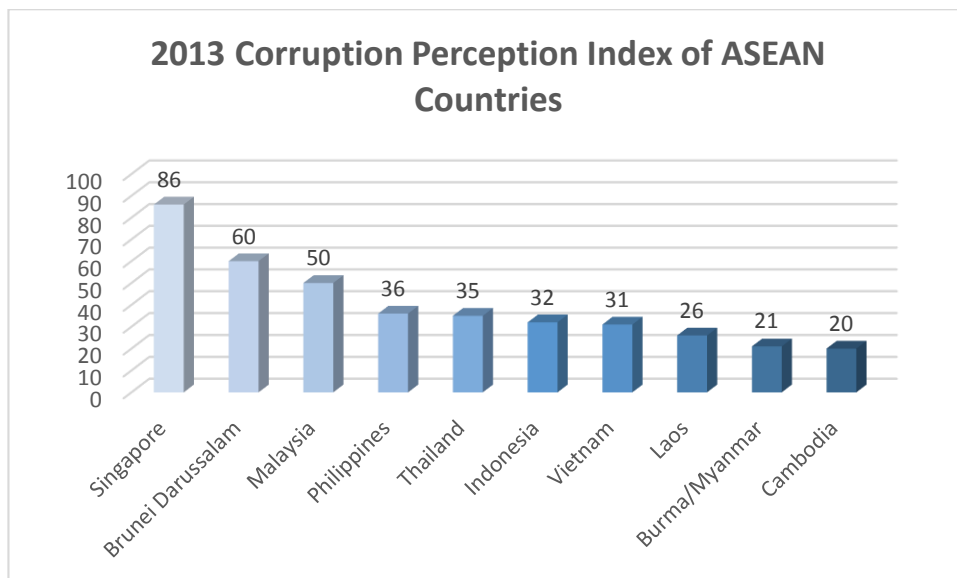


Figure 1. Compiled data retrieved from Transparency International, <http://www.transparency.org/country#IDN> (Darker color indicates higher corruption rate)

Other than that white-collar type of crime, Indonesia also experiencing high tendency on other crime activities. According to The Overseas Security Advisory Council (OSAC) United States Department of State Bureau of Diplomatic Security, overall crime and safety situation in Indonesia shows problematic trends and

cases, although overall rate itself is still lower compared to large cities in Western countries:

“In 2012, there were reported 12,999 violent crimes; 132 murders; 85 rapes; 2,843 aggravated assaults, 8,526 burglaries; 1,630 thefts; and 7,340 vehicle thefts.”^{xix}

The second indicator is family. Family represents smaller scope of society and serves as basic structure to the formation of society in general. Strong social capital derived from good family structures which are indicated by natality, mortality, marriage, divorce, migration, and gender equality rates. Statistical data from Asia Research Institute 2013 had shown that Indonesia has generally similar tendency to other ASEAN countries in terms of overall population structure, even though the percentage for each cases is different. Populations are still increasing but population growth decreased significantly, ranging from 0.5-1.5 in average points. Mortality and fertility rates have been gradually decreased which bears an implication to transition on population structure and the birth of youth bulge phenomenon, so does population pyramid which shows bigger leverage on shifting from expansive to stationary pyramidal type.^{xx} The consequences of this condition multiplied as external factors such as democratization and modernization brought significant impact to social transformation, such as gender equality which tends to drive increasing amount or percentage on urbanization and fall on marriage rates. Those are what have generally become trends in ASEAN countries nowadays:

“Growth rates reflect passage through democratic transition – the movement from high levels of mortality and fertility towards low levels, and the establishment of new balance of slow population growth at these lower fertility and mortality levels. However, the movement towards this new balance differs considerably between countries. In the mortality transition, Singapore, Malaysia, and Thailand have been in vanguard, followed by Vietnam and the Philippines. In terms of fertility transition, again Singapore and Thailand are in vanguard, followed by Vietnam. Indonesia and Myanmar have lower fertility than Malaysia, and the Philippines, Cambodia and Lao PDR bring up the rearguard. The outcome of these trends is that in terms of rates of natural increase, Singapore is lowest, followed by Thailand and then Myanmar (on account of its relatively high death rate).”^{xxi}

The last indicator, trust might be the hardest part to measure since it is associated with complex norms such as justice, equality, transparency,

accountability, and some other norms which are also correlated to law making and policy making process. Data from Transparency International 2013 showed that Indonesia's legislature and parliamentary bodies are experiencing biggest distrust from Indonesian people. It has also been reported by Global Corruption Barometer 2013 that parliamentary and political parties became the most highly-corrupted institutions in Indonesia.^{xxiii} Government bodies and public institutions are apparently experiencing distrust from Indonesian people. Distrust in modern society underlined the fact that social capital somehow had weakened and indicated what-so-called great disruption coupled with rising individualism propensity that becomes stronger symptom in modernized industrial and information era.

From those three indicators and statistical comparisons above, it could be inferred that Indonesia has a medium or moderate capacity to cope with integration process towards achieving ASEAN Community 2015. In Indonesian context, trust and accountability seemingly becomes the most vulnerable sector in accordance to that generalization. Domestic social problems generate nation's vulnerability in adjusting itself to regional level of cooperation and integration. It is rather reasonable to say that Indonesia needs some more time in adjusting itself to integrated scheme and government have to work harder domestically due to larger number of population compared to other ASEAN member countries. However, appreciation shall be made due to political leaders' confidence on participating in this unavoidable process of development.

Shame and Guilt Culture: Proposed Approach on Social Capital's Reconstitution

Needless to say, debates regarding most effective and efficient way to get out of disruption's trap which is rooted in socio-cultural problems, as well as strengthening social capital have been made over decades. This paper tries to propose shame and guilt concepts as approaches to reconstitute and strengthen social capital besides taking care of those three categories above explained by Fukuyama. Hence, it is important to revisit shame and guilt culture as essential parts of nations or states who wish to cope with global era through building up its character.

Indonesia's experience showed us how critical moral values, also shame and guilt culture have been pulled out of daily socio-political praxis, whereas it should be served as basic principles nations should paid attention to. Shame and guilt cultures are important in contributing nation's character. Gerhart Piers and Milton B. Singer in *Shame and Guilt: A Psychoanalytic and a Cultural Study* underlined the importance of shame and guilt feelings in shaping cultural character of an entity. Both are forms or manifestations of intrapsychic tension

which are very important in ego development, character formation, and socialization.^{xxiii} In Indonesia's political context, these are essential in reconstructing critical political character faced by political leaders, stakeholders, and whole nations as well. Below are some basic concepts on shame and guilt cultures:

Shame	Guilt
Tension between ego and ego ideal	Tension between ego and superego
Emphasize on external sanction	Emphasize on internal sanction
Involves reputation, status, good name, prestige	Underlines the role of conscience as moral entity
An aftermath of inability to behave correctly based on social values and moral laws in the society	Remorse due to loss of nearly all of the opportunities

Figure 2. Basic concepts on shame and guilt cultures (Adapted from: Gerhart Piers and Milton B. Singer. "Shame and Guilt: A Psychoanalytic and a Cultural Study". USA: W.W. Norton & Company. 1971.)

Unlike its Asian counterparts which are known as well-developed countries with their shame and guilt culture representing Eastern-values, Indonesia's shame and guilt culture could still be considered as low. In Japan, South Korea, Singapore and several Asian countries, shame and guilt cultures strongly served daily socio-political basis. It is no longer odd that Japan had experienced several times of cabinet reshuffle and prime minister's resignation due to their failure and guilt feelings of inability in carrying out people's mandate and fulfilling political promises. Whilst in Indonesia, political leaders are blatantly corrupting people's trust and abusing public rights for private gain.

Through what could be seen from Indonesia's corruption index which can be considered as high, portrayed by both domestic and international statistics, moral problems are seemingly became the biggest challenge for social capital. Even though attempts on combating this manifestation of moral decadency and nation's pathology have been exerted by Corruption Eradication Commission or generally known as Komisi Pemberantasan Korupsi (KPK), Indonesia Corruption Watch (ICW), and several other bodies, in general it can not be considered as successful without people's willingness in changing themselves. Leaders and Indonesian people in general are supposed to have guilt feelings besides feeling shameful whenever they disavow consensus or law. In this sense, shame and guilt cultures could be seen as essential key points to maintain nation's character from domestic vulnerabilities, thus Indonesia could improve its readiness in overall integration process by reforming its social capital.

Conclusion

Social capital affects Indonesia's vulnerability and readiness in terms of configuring internal capacity in solving domestic challenges which could

influence regional integration process. Indonesia's experiences show that social capital as determinant factor is weakening due to emerging disruptions in various sectors. Thus, the need to reform social order and reconstitute social values through exerting shame and guilt cultures are important besides major attempts addressed to solve those domestic challenges. The ability to manage domestic challenges will soon be followed by strengthening capacity in integrating itself to the upcoming ASEAN Community 2015 visions.

ⁱF. Fukuyama, *The Great Disruption: Human Nature and Reconstitution of Social Order*, Indonesian translated edition *The Great Disruption: Hakikat Manusia dan Rekonstitusi Tatanan Sosial*, translated by Ruslani, Yogyakarta: Qalam, 2014, p. 3.

ⁱⁱIbid, p. 22.

ⁱⁱⁱIbid, p. 42.

^{iv}Ibid, pp. 57-60.

^vIbid, p. 68.

^{vi} R. F. Hopkins and R. W. Mansbach, *Structure and Process in International Politics*, New York: Harper and Row, 1973.

^{vii} M. Mas'ood and S. M. Setyawati, *Areas Studies Course's Diktat*, Yogyakarta: International Relations, Faculty of Social and Political Sciences, UGM, March 2010.

^{viii} A. Acharya and A. I. Johnston (eds.), *Crafting Cooperations: Regional Institutions in Comparative Perspective*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007.

^{ix} T. H. Cohn, "Global Political Economy: Theory and Practice", in *Politik Regionalisme dan Tantangan ASEAN di Tengah Arus Besar Globalisasi*, Journal Spektrum, Vol. 5, No. 2, B. Winarno, 2008, p.1.

^x M. Smith, "Regional and Regionalism", in *Issues in World Politics*, 2nd Edition, B. White, et.al., (eds.), New York: Palgrave, 2001, p. 56.

^{xi} R. Stubbs and G. Underhill, *Political Economy and the Changing Global Order*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006.

^{xii} R. Gilpin and J.M. Gilpin, "Global Political Economy Understanding the International Economic Order", in *Politik Regionalisme dan Tantangan ASEAN di Tengah Arus Besar Globalisasi*, Journal Spektrum, Vol. 5, No. 2, B. Winarno, 2008, p. 4.

^{xiii} N. Suparman, dkk., *Regionalisme dalam Studi Hubungan Internasional*, Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar, 2010.

^{xiv} R. Stubbs and G. Underhill, *Political Economy and the Changing Global Order*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006.

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^{xvi} Institute of Asian Studies, <http://ideas.repec.org/s/gig/soaktu.html>, 5 September 2014.

^{xvii} F. Fukuyama, *The Great Disruption: Human Nature and Reconstitution of Social Order*, Indonesian translated edition *The Great Disruption: Hakikat Manusia dan Rekonstitusi Tatanan Sosial*, translated by Ruslani, Yogyakarta: Qalam, 2014, pp. 48-50.

^{xviii} Transparency International, *Indonesia's Corruption Perception Index per 2013*, <http://www.transparency.org/country#IDN>, 5 September 2014.

^{xix} The Overseas Security Advisory Council, United States Department of State Bureau of Diplomatic Security, *Indonesia 2013 Crime and Safety Report: Jakarta*, 2 July 2013, <https://www.osac.gov/pages/ContentReportDetails.aspx?cid=13578>, 5 September 2014.

^{xx} G. W. Jones, "The Population of Southeast Asia", in *Asia Research Institute*, Working Paper Series No. 196, Singapore: National University of Singapore, January 2013,

http://www.ari.nus.edu.sg/docs/wps/wps13_196.pdf, 5 September 2014.

^{xxi}Ibid, p.8.

^{xxii}Transparency International Indonesia, *Corruption Perception Index 2013*, 3 December 2013, <http://www.ti.or.id/index.php/publication/2013/12/03/corruption-perception-index-2013>, 13 September 2014.

^{xxiii}G. Piers and M. B. Singer, *Shame and Guilt: A Psychoanalytic and a Cultural Study*, USA: W. W. Norton & Company, 1971, p. 15.

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